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THE
HISTORY OF THE POPES,

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER
ORIGINAL SOURCES.

FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. LUDWIG PASTOR,

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EDITED BY

FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS

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BRIEF OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. TO PROFESSOR PASTOR.

“Dilecto filio Ludovico Pastor Doctori historiæ tradendæ
Ænipontem.

“Leo P.P. XIII.

“Dilecte fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ex historia Pontificum Romanorum, quam habes institutam, adlatum Nobis primum volumen est una cum litteris tuis. Quod rerum monumenta veterum, utique ex Tabulario Vaticano deprompta, usui tibi scribis fuisse, gratum est: nec fieri profecto potest, ut tanta supellex non magnum afferat ad investigandam antiquitatem lumen. Tu vero opus habes in manibus sane laboriosum idemque magna casuum varietate notabile cum ab exitu mediæ ævi exorsus, pergere ad hanc nostram ætatem contendas. Sed ab ista lucubrationum tuarum priore parte, cui quidem suffragium idoneorum virorum videmus non defuisse, conjecturam facere de reliquarum bonitate licet. Reddere cum alacritate, quæ restant, hortaremur, nisi Nobis esset cognitum tua te voluntate alacrem hortatione plane non indigere. Nec sane facultatem ingenii tui usquam poteras utilius sanctiusque collocare, quam in illustrandis diligenter ac sincere rebus gestis Pontificum maximorum, quorum laudibus tam sæpe invidere vel temporum iniuria consuevit vel hominum obtrectatio malevola. Cælestium munerum auspicem ac benevolentia Nostræ paternæ testem tibi Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum die XX. Januarii Anno 1887, Pontificatus Nostri nono.

“LEO P.P. XIII.”

NOTICE.

PROFESSOR PASTOR'S "History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages," comes to us with a singular and exceptional weight of authority.

First, because of the ample encouragement conveyed by the brief of Leo XIII. when the first volume of the history was completed. Such letters of His Holiness do not, indeed, convey a critical approval of the work, but an abundant testimony to the fitness and learning of Dr Pastor for the accomplishment of his undertaking.

Secondly, because this history may be regarded as the first-fruits of the action of the Holy Father, which, a little time ago, so surprised the writers of anti-Catholic history. Leo XIII., as it will be remembered, addressed a letter to the five Cardinals whom he had appointed as a commission to oversee the publication of historical matters contained in the Vatican Archives. The Holy Father charged them to see that the history of the Holy See and of the Church should be written with absolute truth on the only just and imperishable principle that the *historica veritas* ought to be supreme, of which we have a divine example in Holy Writ, where the sins, even of Saints, are as openly recorded as the wickedness of sinners.

Thirdly, because no author as yet has written the history of the Popes with such copious evidence, drawn, not only from the Vatican Archives since they were thrown open by Leo XIII., but from a multitude of other sources hitherto never examined, as, for instance, the Consistorial Archives, the Archives of the Lateran, of the Inquisition, of the Propaganda, of the Sistine Chapel, of the Secretaryship of Briefs, and of the Library of St. Peter's. As to the Vatican Library, even Ranke and Gregorovius were only able to inspect a small number of the manuscripts. Beyond these, Professor Pastor has examined the Libraries and private Archives of Rome, the public and semi-public Libraries as the Angelica, the Barberina, the Casanatense, the Chigi, the Corsini, the Vallicellana, the Altieri, the Borghese, the Buoncompagni, the Anima, the Campo Santo and Santo Spirito, the Colonna, Gaetani, and Ricci. To all these may be added the Archives of Milan, Paris, Florence, Vienna and Mantua, Lucca, Modena and Naples, Aix in Provence and Treves.

If anyone will examine the notes and references at the foot of the pages in this work he will see at once that this list of authorities is not a mere catalogue of names, but of sources from which a copious and truthful history has been industriously drawn. If any further evidence were needed to show how minutely this history has been written, it will be sufficient to add that these two volumes contain, besides the Introduction, only the history of four Pontiffs, from 1417 to 1458. Nevertheless, in that brief period is to be found one of the most decisive events of history, the effect of which is in full action upon the Church and upon the world at this day.

All histories of this period, from Ranke to Creighton, will need extensive correction, and, in a large measure, to be rewritten. In the time of Nicholas V., the so-called "Renaissance" was at its height, and parted itself off into two distinct schools—the heathen Humanists, and the Christian Humanists. The heathen Humanists

plunged themselves, with all their intellectual culture, into the atheism and foulness of a revived paganism. They were the forerunners of the intellectual apostasy from the Church, which, some seventy years after, broke out in Germany under the pretence of reformation. This revolt in religion of individual judgment against Divine authority was translated in the last century into the domain of politics by the first French Revolution, which has been truly described by Carlyle as the last act in the drama of Lutheranism. The Christian Humanists elaborated all intellectual culture in perfect fidelity to the revelation of the Christian faith. Nicolas V. became their patron and protector, and thereby placed himself at the head of the intellectual culture which has pervaded the Catholic Church, expanding itself from the time of his Pontificate to the Pontificate of Leo XIII.

HENRY EDWARD,
Cardinal Archbishop.

October 27th, 1891.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE great success which has attended the publication of Professor Pastor's History of the Popes in the literary circles of Germany, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, has led to the hope that the work might be acceptable in an English translation.

The many Histories of the Popes and of the Papacy already existing exhibit a tendency to treat the matter too exclusively—some from a political, others from an ecclesiastical point of view. It is for the reader to decide whether in the present work this defect has been avoided.

The vast literature on the history, and on the artistic and social life of the Renaissance which has been published in the last few years, and the liberality with which the present Pontiff has opened the Archives of the Vatican to students of history, place present writers at a great advantage as compared with their predecessors.

The Editor's portion of the work has been confined to the supervision of the translation. He has endeavoured to follow the text as closely as is consistent with an idiomatic translation. The notes, which contain most valuable matter, have been given in full.

The bulk of the first volume has necessitated dividing the English version. Should the present volumes meet with a favourable reception, the publication of the remainder will be carried out without delay.

The Editor begs to express his best thanks to the friends who have co-operated with him in preparing the translation.

F I. A.

The Oratory,
South Kensington, S.W.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE publication of a new "History of the Popes from the Conclusion of the Middle Ages," drawn from original sources, cannot be considered a superfluous task. Apart from the special interest attaching to the annals of this the most ancient and still most vigorous of dynasties, from a purely scientific point of view, a new work embodying the substance of the numerous monographs of the last ten years, with additions and corrections from fresh original documents, seems urgently called for.

Ranke, the first in importance of all Protestant German Historians, owes his fame to his "Lives of the Popes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," which appeared in 1834-1836, and which, even in the most recent editions, essentially represents the state of historical research at that period. The alterations made by the aged author are, with the exception of its continuation to the year 1870, confined to a small number of points. He gives but a summary notice of the Renaissance age, our knowledge of which has been immensely increased during the last few decades by the labours of learned men in Italy, as well as in Germany and France; in the latter country especially, by those of the indefatigable Eugène Müntz. A thorough acquaintance with that period is an essential preliminary to the comprehension of the sixteenth century.

When His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. generously opened the secret Archives of the Vatican to students, it became evident that the History of the Popes during the last four centuries would have to be re-written. Ranke, Burckhardt, Voigt, Gregorovius, and Creighton all wrote on the Renaissance Age before these Archives were accessible, and even Reumont, whose trustworthy and exhaustive "History of the City of Rome" has been of the greatest use to me, gives but a few specimens of the rich treasures they contain. Accordingly my first task, during a somewhat prolonged residence on two occasions in the Eternal City, was to make myself thoroughly acquainted with them. My studies were greatly facilitated by the kind assistance afforded me by their custodians, and I soon became convinced that Pertz's

observation, "the keys of St. Peter are still the keys of the Middle Ages," is also applicable to our own times.

In addition to the secret Archives of the Vatican, I found, while in Rome, partly by my own exertions, and partly by the aid of friends, historical materials of great value in a number of other Archives, which had hitherto been almost inaccessible. Among these are the Consistorial Archives, the Archives of the Lateran (which unfortunately have not been classified), of the Inquisition, of Propaganda, of the Sixtine Chapel, of the Secretaryship of Briefs, and of the Library of St. Peter's. Nor must the treasures of the Vatican Library be passed over, especially as Ranke and Gregorovius were only able to inspect a small number of these manuscripts.

My researches in the inexhaustible mine of the Papal collections were supplemented by those which I made in the Libraries and Private Archives of Rome. I visited the public or semi-public Libraries, which are celebrated throughout the literary world, as the Angelica, the Barberina, the Casanatense, the Chigi, the Corsini, and the Vallicellana Libraries, and also the less known Altieri, Borghese, and Boncompagni Libraries, the Archives of the Anima, of the Campo Santo al Vaticano, and of the Santo Spirito, as well as those of the Roman Princes, which, in many cases, are not easy of access. Among these the Archives of the Colonna, Gaetani, and Ricci families yielded an unexpected amount of treasure, while others, as, for example, those of the Odescalchi and Orsini, were comparatively barren.

The overwhelming mass of documents before me decided me only to begin my systematic investigation of the Roman Archives at the middle of the fifteenth century, which we may consider as the period closing the Middle Ages, and forming the transition between two great epochs.

Ample as are the historical materials to be found in Rome, I could not limit myself exclusively to these sources without incurring the danger of being one-sided.

I therefore extended my investigations to the other Archives in Italy, especially those of the more or less important Italian powers, which were in constant communication with the Holy See, and which sent Ambassadors to Rome at an earlier date, and more frequently than is generally supposed. The diplomatic correspondence of the Sforzas in the State Archives at Milan long detained me, and I was able to fill up the gaps existing in it from the

Ambrosian Library, and afterwards from the National Library of Paris. Florence, Vienna, and Mantua furnished an unlooked-for amount of documents, most of which are still unknown. Lucca is not so rich, but from Modena and Naples I have gathered much that is of value for my work.

I need hardly say that in my various journeys I did not neglect the numerous rich Libraries and the important Municipal Archives which are scattered through Italy. I also investigated the collections of manuscripts in France and Germany, and at several places, as, for example, at Aix in Provence and at Trèves, I made interesting and valuable discoveries.

Extracts from manuscripts which I believe to be unpublished are marked in this work by an asterisk (*). It was impossible in the Appendix to find place for all the matter before me, but I intend at a later period to publish a large collection of manuscripts connected with the History of the Popes; the documents which are to form part of the proposed volume are designated by two asterisks (**).

I owe a debt of gratitude, in the first place to His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., who has most graciously been pleased to take an interest in my work, and to encourage me in its prosecution; then to their Eminences Cardinals Jacobini, Hergenröther, and Mertel, His Excellency Count Paar, Austrian Ambassador to the Holy See, Monsignori de Montel and Meszczynski, and Herr Wilhelm Hüffer in Rome; also to Fr. Ehrle, S.J., and Dr. Gottlob, the latter of whom placed at my disposal a number of documents relating to the war against the Turks.

I am also greatly indebted to the Minister of Public Worship and Education in Vienna for his kindness in regard to the transmission of manuscripts, and to the custodians and officials of the Archives and Libraries I have visited, for the assistance they have so obligingly afforded me in my investigations. I beg them all to accept my sincere thanks.

The second volume of this work will conclude the History of the Renaissance Age, and will appear as soon as possible. The subject matter of the four other volumes, which will probably complete my undertaking, will be the three great events of History since the Renaissance: the great disruption in the Western Church, the Catholic Restoration, and the Modern Revolution.

LUDWIG PASTOR.

15th August, 1885.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE LITERARY RENAISSANCE IN ITALY AND THE CHURCH.

WITH the exception of the period which witnessed the transformation of the Pagan into the Christian world, the history of mankind hardly offers one more striking than that of the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times. One of the most powerful elements in this epoch of marked contrasts was the exhaustive appreciation and extension of the study of the ancient world, commonly known as the Renaissance, or the new birth of classical antiquity. This movement naturally began in Italy, where the memory of the classic past had never been wholly effaced, and with it opens a new epoch.

The object of this work is not to demonstrate the origin and development of this revolution, effected in science, poetry, art, and life. The historian of the Popes is only concerned with the Renaissance, in so far as it comes in contact with the Church and the Holy See.

To thoroughly and correctly appreciate this relation, we must bear in mind that in this movement, which began in the realm of literature, there were from the first two conflicting currents, discernible, more or less, in its gifted founders, Petrarch and Boccaccio.

Like the author of the "Divine Comedy," Petrarch took his stand upon the Church, and succeeded in combining enthusiastic admiration for classical antiquity with devout reverence for Christianity. His passionate love for the antique did not make him forget the sublimity of the Christian mysteries. On the contrary, the poet repeatedly and energetically declared that he looked on the Gospel as higher than all the wisdom of the ancients. "We may," he writes to his friend Giovanni Colonna, "love the schools of the philosophers, and agree with them only when they are in accordance with the truth, and when they do not lead us astray from our chief end. Should anyone attempt

to do this, were he even Plato or Aristotle, Varro or Cicero we must firmly and constantly despise and reject him. Let no subtlety of arguments, no grace of speech, no renown, ensnare us; they were but men, learned, so far as mere human erudition can go, brilliant in eloquence, endowed with the gifts of nature, but deserving of pity inasmuch as they lacked the highest and ineffable gift. As they trusted only in their own strength and did not strive after the true light, they often fell like blind men. Let us admire their intellectual gifts, but in such wise as to reverence the Creator of these gifts. Let us have compassion on the errors of these men, while we congratulate ourselves and acknowledge that out of mercy, without merit of our own, we have been favoured above our forefathers by Him, who has hidden His secrets from the wise and graciously manifested them to little ones. Let us study philosophy so as to love wisdom. The real wisdom of God is Christ. In order to attain true philosophy, we must love and reverence Him above all things. We must first be Christians—then we may be what we will. We must read philosophical, poetical, and historical works in such manner that the Gospel of Christ shall ever find an echo in our hearts. Through it alone can we become wise and happy; without it, the more we have learned, the more ignorant and unhappy shall we be. On the Gospel alone as upon the one immoveable foundation, can human diligence build all true learning.”*

In justification of his love for the philosophers and poets of antiquity, Petrarch repeatedly appeals to St. Augustine, whose “tearful Confessions” were among his favourite books. “So great a Doctor of the Church,” he says, “was not ashamed to let himself be guided by Cicero, although Cicero pursued a different end. Why, indeed, should he be ashamed? No leader is to be despised, who points out the way of salvation. I do not mean to deny that in the classical writers there is much to be avoided, but in Christian writers also there are many things that may mislead the unwary reader. St. Augustine himself, in a laborious work, with his own hand rooted the weeds out of the rich harvestfield of his writings. In short, the books are rare that can be read without danger,

* Ep. rer. famil. vi. 2 ed. Fracasetti [Firenze, 1864], ii. 112-119.

unless the light of Divine Truth illuminates us, and teaches us what is to be chosen and what to be avoided. If we follow that Light, we may go on our way with security." Petrarch never flinched from expressing his devout sentiments; he repeatedly showed himself the apologist of Christianity, and on the occasion of his solemn crowning at the Capitol, went to the Basilica of St. Peter to lay his wreath of laurels on the altar of the Prince of the Apostles.*

Yet Petrarch did not escape the leaven of his age or the influence of the dangerous elements of antiquity. He often succumbed to the sensual passion so faithfully depicted in his work, "On Contempt of the World;" his inordinate love of preferment is another blot upon his stormy life, and we discover in him not a few traits at variance with his devout Christian intuitions. Among these are his scornful attitude towards scholastic theology, which had, indeed, much degenerated, and his craving for fame. On this point we shall judge him the more leniently, if we reflect that even the heart of a Dante, whose immortal poem upholds the Christian view of the nothingness of human glory, was not impervious to this weakness. Still it is sad to see a man so eminent in intellectual gifts as Petrarch, yearning after crowns of laurel, royal favours, and popular ovations, and pursuing the phantom of glory in the courts of profligate princes.† Undoubtedly this ardent passion for renown, to which the

* See Körting, i., 174, 178, 205, 407 *et seq.*, 495 *et seq.*; iii., 430, 431. Haffner, Renaissance, 227 *et seq.* Piper, Mon. Theol., 653, 654. Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 80, 86 *et seq.*, 95 *et seq.* Blanc in Ersch-Gruber, 3, Section xix., 250, 251. Geiger, Petrarca (Leipzig, 1874), 92, 93. Gaspary, i., 457. Bartoli, 61 *et seq.* The assertion lately repeated by Körting, i., 75, Voigt, i., 2nd ed., 86, Frenzel, Renaissance (Berlin, 1876), 5, Geiger, Renaissance, 29, and Paulsen, 29, to the effect that Petrarch was a priest, is erroneous. He had only received minor orders. The passage quoted by Körting from the work *De otio religios.* Opp. (Basil, 1554), 363, proves nothing, for "divinas laudes atque officium quotidianum celebrare," does not mean to say mass, but refers to the breviary and office in choir.

† Körting, i., 36 *et seq.*, 157 *et seq.*, 521; iii., 420, 423. Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 71 *et seq.*, 85, 126 *et seq.*, 136 *et seq.*, 148. Haffner, Renaissance, 228 *et seq.* Bartoli, 10 *et seq.* With regard to Dante, in relation to glory, see Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 171 *et seq.*, and Schnaase, vii., 2nd ed., 36 *et seq.*

Christian conscience of the poet opposed such an inefficacious resistance, must be considered as a taint of heathenism. In the old classical authors, especially in Cicero, this ideal of human fame was so vividly presented to the mind of Petrarch, that at times it entirely eclipsed the Christian ideal.*

But he has one uncontested excellence: never does a wanton or sensual thought mar the pure silver ring of his sonnets. In this respect, the most marked contrast exists between him and his friend and contemporary Boccaccio, whose writings breathe an atmosphere of heathen corruption. The way in which this great master of style and delineation of character sets at naught all Christian notions of honour and decency, is simply appalling. His idyll, "Ameto," reeks with the profligacy of the ancient world, and preaches pretty plainly the "Gospel of free love;" and his satire, "Corbaccio," or "The Labyrinth of Love," displays the most revolting cynicism. A critic of no severe stamp declares that even the modern naturalistic writers can hardly outbid the defilement of this lampoon.† And the most celebrated of all Boccaccio's works, the "Decameron," is a presentation of purely heathen principles, in the unrestrained gratification of the passions. A modern literary historian says, that the provocative, sensuous style of the stories may find its explanation—without the possibility of excuse—in the prevalent immorality of the times, and the unchaining of all evil passions, caused by the plague; their effect is all the more dangerous, from the genuine wit, with which the writer describes the triumph of cunning, whether over honest simplicity or narrow-minded selfishness.‡

* Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i., 2nd ed., 126, 127.

† Scartazzini in the *Allgemein Zeitung*, 1882, No. 336, Suppl. In regard to "Ameto," see E. Feuerlein, in *Sybel's Hist. Zeitschr.* N.F. ii., 238. Petrarch as a poet: Norrenberg, i., 319. Gaspary, i., 460 *et seq.*

‡ Hettner, *Studien*, 47, 49. See Körting, ii., 447 *et seq.*, 657. Wegele, 595. Janitschek, 8. Feuerlein, *loc. cit.*, 242 *et seq.* F. de Sanctis, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* (3rd ed., Napoli, 1879), i., 287 *et seq.* M. Landau, *G. Boccaccio, Sein Leben und Seine Werke* (Stuttgart, 1877), endeavours as much as possible to excuse Boccaccio, but admits (134) that he "cannot be washed quite clean." G. de Leva also judges him severely, *Sull'opera Il primo Rinascimento del prof. G. Guerzoni* (Padova, 1878), 10.

In his stories Boccaccio takes especial delight in heaping ridicule and contempt on ecclesiastics, monks and nuns, and with polished irony, represents them as the quintessence of all immorality and hypocrisy.*

And yet Boccaccio was no unbeliever or enemy of the Church. His insolent language regarding ecclesiastical personages is by no means the outcome of a mind essentially hostile to the Church, and none of his contemporaries considered it as such. A preacher of penance, who visited Boccaccio in the year 1361, reproached him bitterly with the immorality of his writings, but not with their disloyalty. The compiler of the "Decameron" was never, even in his most careless days, an unbeliever, and in later life, after his conversion, the childlike piety of his nature reasserted itself. He eagerly embraced every opportunity of manifesting his faith, and of warning others against the perusal of the impure writings, which caused him such deep regret. The dalliance of former days with the old classic gods was quite at an end, and we have his assurance that he did not look upon learning as antagonistic to faith, but at the same time, he would rather renounce the former than the latter.† His will also bears witness to his piety. Boccaccio hereby leaves the most precious of his possessions, his library, to the Augustinian Friar and Professor of Theology, Martino da Signa, on condition that he should pray for his soul; and after Martino's death he desires that the books

* This wanton tone found but too ready imitators, who did not shrink from the most horrible language. See Burckhardt, *Cultur*, i., 3rd ed., 231 *et seq.* E. Ruth, *Gesch. der ital. Poesie* (Leipzig, 1847), 7, 52 *et seq.*, 60 *et seq.* Geiger, *Renaissance*, 81, 262 *et seq.*, and M. Landau, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der ital. Novelle* (Wien, 1875), 22 *et seq.*, 27 *et seq.*, 39. With regard to Masuccio Guardato, of Salerno, Landau observes: "However much one may hate priests, it must be confessed that the manner in which Masuccio attacks them, goes beyond the measure of fair war. His heavy club falls on monks and priests, the Pope himself is not spared, and he often indulges in the most obscene mockery of Catholic customs." Even worse perhaps are the novels of Giovanni Ser Cambi, in *Cod. 193 of the Trivulzio Library at Milan, published only in part, out of regard to decency (see Landau, 39).

† See Körting, ii., 189 *et seq.*, 267 *et seq.*, 366 *et seq.*, 659 *et seq.* G. Guerzoni, *Il primo Rinascimento* (Verona, 1878), 80, 81. A. Hortis, *Studi sulle opere lat. del Boccaccio* (Trieste, 1879), 475 *et seq.*

should become the property of the monastery of Santo Spirito, and be always accessible to the monks. He wishes that his last resting place should be in the Augustinian Church of Santo Spirito, at Florence, or if death should overtake him at Certaldo, in the Augustinian Church of Saints Philip and James in that town.*

The position taken up by these two founders and pioneers of the Renaissance in regard to the Church was, therefore, not by any means a hostile one, and accordingly the attitude of the Popes towards them was throughout friendly. Boccaccio went three times as Ambassador from the Florentines to the Papal Court, and was always well received there.† All the Popes from Benedict XII. to Gregory XI. showed Petrarch the greatest favour, and Clement VI. delivered the great poet from pecuniary embarrassments and procured for him the independence needed for his intellectual labours.‡ It is, therefore, not correct to look on the movement, known as the Renaissance, the literary manifestation of which is Humanism,§ as, in its origin and its whole scope, directed against the Church. On the contrary, the true Renaissance, the study of the past in a thoroughly Christian spirit, was in itself a legitimate intellectual movement, fruitful in fresh results, alike for secular and spiritual science.||

* Testamento di Giov. Boccaccio secondo la pergamena originale dell' Archivio Bichi-Borghesi di Siena (Siena, 1853).

† M. Landau, Boccaccio, 223 *et seq.* Körting, ii., 197 *et seq.*, 304 *et seq.*, 307. A. Hortis, Giov. Boccaccio, ambasciatore in Avignone (Trieste, 1875).

‡ Körting, i., 224, 440, 441.

§ Paulsen, 5.

|| See Daniel, *Des études classiques*, 222. Möhler, *Schriften*, published by Döllinger (Regensburg, 1840), ii., 17, 32, 25. Norrenberg, ii., 8, 10, and the following passages of Hergenröther, ii., 1, 172. With regard to the art of the Renaissance, to which a special chapter will be devoted in a future volume of this work, the Dominican Fr. A. M. Weiss (iii., 902) very justly observes: "An absolute and indiscriminate condemnation of the Renaissance, as a whole, and of everything connected with its art, cannot possibly be just." And 903: "To condemn the Renaissance in general with the severity exercised by some of our best brothers-in-arms, no doubt speaking from full conviction, is a thing that cannot be justified." See also F. Schneider in the *Lit. Rundschau*, 1881, 239 *et seq.* J. Graus' *Kirchenschmuck*, 1885, No. 2 *et seq.*, and

The many-sided and methodical study of the intellectual works of former days, with its tendency to deliver men's minds from the formalism of the degenerate scholastic philosophy, and to make them capable of a fresher and more direct culture of all sciences, especially of philosophy and theology, could not but be approved from a strictly ecclesiastical point of view. In the eyes of the Church, everything depended on the method and the aim of the humanistic studies; for the movement could only be hostile to her, if the old ecclesiastical methods were forsaken, if classical studies, instead of being used as means of culture, became their own end, and were employed not to develop Christian knowledge, but rather to obscure and destroy it.*

So long, then, as the absolute truth of Christianity was the standing ground from which heathen antiquity was apprehended, the Renaissance of classical literature could only be of service to the Church. For, just as the ancient world in all its bearings could only be fully manifested to the spiritual eye, when viewed from the heights of Christianity, so Christian faith, worship, and life, could not fail to be more amply comprehended, esteemed, and admired from a clear perception of the analogies and contrasts furnished by classic heathenism.† The conditions imposed by the Popes and other ecclesiastical dignitaries upon the revived study of antiquity could but serve, as long as this study was pursued in a right spirit, to promote the interests of the Church, and these conditions corresponded with the old ecclesiastical traditions.

Proceeding from the principle that knowledge is in itself a great good, and that its abuse can never justify its suppression, the Church, ever holding the just mean, from the first resisted heathen superstition and heathen immorality, but not the Græco-Roman intellectual culture. Following the great Apostle of the Gentiles, who had read the Greek poets and philosophers, most of the men who carried on his work esteemed and commended classical studies. When the Emperor Julian endeavoured to deprive

Hettinger, *Welt und Kirche* (Freiburg, 1885), ii., 359 *et seq.* These articles by J. Graus have since been published separately in a work entitled: "Die Katholische Kirche, und die Renaissance," Gratz, 1885.

* Bippert, in the *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, xii., 594-605.

† See the excellent treatise on the Relation of Classical Antiquity to Christendom, in the *Histor. polit. Blätter.*, xxx., 102 *et seq.*

Christians of this important means of culture, the most sagacious representatives of the Church perceived the measure to be inimical and most dangerous to Christendom. Under the pressure of necessity, books on science were hastily composed for teaching purposes by Christian authors, but after the death of Julian the old classics resumed their place.*

The danger of a one-sided and exaggerated interest in heathen literature, regardless of its dark side, was never ignored by Christians. "For many," writes even Origen, "it is an evil thing, after they have professed obedience to the law of God, to hold converse with the Egyptians, that is to say with heathen knowledge."† And those very Fathers of the Church, who judged the ancient writers most favourably, were careful from time to time to point out the errors into which the young may fall in the study of the ancients, and the perils which may prove their destruction. Efforts were made by a strict adherence to the approved principles of Christian teaching, and by a careful choice of teachers, to meet the danger which lurked in classical literature. Thus, history tells us, did the Church succeed in obviating the perils to moral and religious life attendant on its perusal. Zealots, indeed, often enough arose declaring, "In Christ we have the truth, we need no other learning," and there were not wanting Christians who abhorred classical learning, as dangerous and obnoxious to Christian doctrine. But the severity, with which Saint Gregory Nazianzen blames these men, proves this party to have been neither enlightened nor wholly disinterested. In espousing the cause of ignorance, they were mainly seeking their own advancement, regardless of the great interests of science and intellectual culture in Christian society, which they would have left to perish, if they had got the

* Daniel, *loc. cit.*, 20-27. *Histor. polit. Blätter.*, xxxiv., 631, and H. Kellner, *Hellenismus und Christenthum* (Köln, 1866), 266 *et seq.* Timoteo Maffei, Prior of the Canons Regular of Fiesole, and friend of Cosmo de'Medici, pointed out this law of Julian's to the opponents of classical studies. See his treatise dedicated to Nicholas V.: *In sanctam rusticitatem litteras impugnantem. *Cod. Vatic.*, 5076, f. 8. *Vatic. Library.*

† Origenes, *Ep. ad Greg.*, 2 (*Migne, Patr. Gr.* xi., 90), and other passages in B. Braunmüller, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Bildung in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten des Christenthums* (*Mettener Progr.*, 1854, 1855), 31 *et seq.*

upper hand. The most clear-sighted of those who watched over the destinies of the Church, were always intent on the protection of these interests,* as were also the great majority of the eastern and western Fathers.

"The heathen philosophy," writes Clement of Alexandria, "is not deleterious to Christian life, and those who represent it as a school of error and immorality, calumniate it, for it is light, the image of truth, and a gift which God has bestowed upon the Greeks; far from harming the truth by empty delusions, it but gives us another bulwark for the Truth, and, as a sister science, helps to establish Faith. Philosophy educated the Greeks, as the law educated the Jews, in order that both might be led to Christ."† "He, therefore, who neglects the heathen philosophy," says Clement in another passage, "is like the fool who would gather grapes without cultivating the vineyard. But as the heathen mingle truth with falsehood we must borrow wisdom from their philosophers as we pluck roses from thorns."‡

In like manner spoke St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and other celebrities of the early Church. They all manifested a clear perception of, and a warm susceptibility for, the beauties of classical literature. Without closing their eyes to the disadvantages and dark shadows of heathenism, they also saw the sunshine, the rays of the eternal light, which beamed forth from these glorious achievements of the human intellect; they heard the prophetic voices which rose from their midst, and sought to bring them into unison with the language of Christendom. They discriminated between the common human element contained in classical literature, and the heathen element which enfolds it; the latter was to be rejected, and the former to take its place within the circle of Christian ideas.§ They constantly repeated, that everything depends on the manner in which the heathen classics are read and employed

* Daniel, 37.

† "Επαιδαγώγει γάρ καὶ αὐτή (φιλοσοφία) τὸ Ἑλληνικόν ὡς ὁ νόμος τοὺς Ἑβραίους εἰς χριστόν," *Stromata*, i., 5.

‡ *Stromata*, i., 17; ii., 1. For Clement's judgment respecting the heathen philosophers, see Haffner, *Grundlinien*, 297 *et seq.*, and Knittel, *Pistis und Gnosis in the Tübinger Quartalschrift*, Jahrg., 55 (1873), 199 *et seq.*

§ H. Jacoby, *Die classische Bildung und die alte Kirche*, in the *Allgem. Zeitung*, 1880, Suppl. 354 and 355.

in education. These expressions of disapprobation are not directed against the classics in themselves, but against a wrong spirit and a perverted method in their use; they agree in this respect with St. Amphilochius, who gave the following advice with regard to the perusal of these works: "Be circumspect in dealing with them, collect the good that is in them, shun whatever is dangerous; imitate the wise bee, which rests upon all flowers and sucks only sweet juices from them."* In the same sense, and with true Attic elegance, St. Basil the Great wrote his celebrated "Discourse to Christian youths, on the right use of the heathen authors."† In opposition to the unjust attacks which treated heathen books without exception as vain lies of the Devil, this great Doctor of the Church, whose fame is still fresh in the Basilian Order, dwells with manifest affection on the value and excellence of classic studies as a preparation for Christian science. The writings of St. Gregory Nazianzen furnish proof of even greater esteem, love, and enthusiasm for the literature of the ancients. "It has cost me little," he says in one of his discourses, "to give up all the rest: riches, high position, influence, in short all earthly glory, all the false joys of the world. I cleave to but one thing, eloquence, and I do not regret having undergone such toils by land and sea to acquire it."‡

* See Daniel, 26 *et seq.*, 38 *et seq.*, *Histor. Polit. Blätter*, xxxiv., 632 *et seq.*, and Stephinsky, *Die heidnischen Classiker als Bildungs-mittel* (Trier, 1886), xvi. *et seq.*

† *Λόγος πρὸς τοὺς νέους ὅπως ἀν ἐξ Ἑλληνικῶν ὠφελοῖντο λόγων.* See Alzog, *Patrologie*, 3rd ed. (1876), 262 *et seq.* This discourse of St. Basil's was translated into Latin by Lionardo Bruni in 1405 or 1406. Numerous printed publications bear witness to the wide dissemination of this translation, (Panzer, *Annales Typographici* [Norimbergæ, 1799 *et seq.*], v., 78; x., 141) and the MS. are yet more numerous; the Vatican Library alone possesses 24. See Codd. Vatic., 409, f. 129a-134a; 1494, f. 115a-122a; 1495, f. 162a-173a; 1792, f. 39a-49a; 1807, f. 50a-61a; 2726, f. 100a-109a; 3003, f. 154b-156b (inopl.); 3386, f. 1a-21b; 3407, f. 21b-30b; 5061, f. 51a-62b; 5109, f. 87a-95b. Ottob., 1184, f. 98a-115a; 1267, f. 148a-155a; 1341, f. 1a-26a; 1800, f. 29a-39b. Regin., 1151, f. 30b-38a; 1321, f. 82a-91a; 1464, f. 9a-16b; 1555, f. 129a-141a; 1778, f. 57b-73a; 1784, f. 87a-100a. Urbin., 1164, f. 1a-16a; 1173, f. 1a-15a; 1194, f. 86a-107a.

‡ See Daniel, 25 *et seq.*, and R. Riepl, *Des hl. Gregor v. Nazianz Urtheil über die classischen Studien und seine Berechtigung dazu* (Progr. des Gymnasiums zu Linz, 1859).

The necessity of combining classical culture with Christian education, henceforth became a tradition in the Church, especially as the scientific development of the period to which most of the above-mentioned Fathers belong, has had an enduring influence on the ages which have followed.*

Amidst the storms of later times, the Church preserved these glorious blossoms of ancient culture, and endeavoured to turn them to account in the interest of Christendom. Monasteries, founded and protected by the Popes, while the genuine spirit of the Church yet lived within them, rendered valuable service in guarding the intellectual treasures of antiquity. With all their enthusiasm for classical literature, the true representatives of the Church were, nevertheless, firmly convinced, that the greatest and most beautiful things antiquity could show came far short of the glory, the loftiness and the purity of Christianity. No exaggerated deification of the heathen writers, but their prudent use in a Christian spirit; no infatuated idolatry of their form, but the employment of their substance in the interest of morality and religion, the combination, in short, of classical learning with Christian life—this was the aim of the Church.

This utilization for Christian ends of the ancient writers was eminently fruitful. "The direct use, which the Fathers made of these writings in their warfare against idolatry and vain philosophy, is obvious. 'But,' Stolberg adds, 'who can estimate all that Origen, the Sts. Gregory, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom and others gained indirectly in the way of culture and grace, and—more important still—in intellectual energy from the ancients?'"†

The discourses and treatises of those Fathers of the Church who had studied the classics, furnish ample proof that the simplicity of the Faith is far from being impaired by the ornaments of rhetoric. Their poems, as amongst

* Evidence of the traditional practice of 400 years is brought forward by Daniel in his beautiful work (15 *et seq.*), translated into German by J. M. Gaisser (Freiburg, 1855). With regard to ancient times, see Stephinsky in Kraus, *Real-Encyclopädie der Christl. Altherthümer* (Freiburg, 1881), 29 *et seq.* See also J. Alzog, *Commentatio de Litterarum Græcarum atque Romanarum studiis cum Theologia christiana conjungendis* (Frib. Brisg., 1857). Also Pohle's excellent article in the *Freib. Kirchenlexicon* iii., 2nd ed., 421 *et seq.*

† J. Janssen, *Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg* (Freiburg, 1882), 233.

others, St. Gregory Nazianzen's tragedy, "The Suffering Saviour," render the conceptions of the Patristic, as clearly as Dante's immortal poem does those of the scholastic theology. The efforts of Julian the Apostate to dissolve this Alliance between Christian faith and Græco-Roman culture are a clear indication of the increase of strength which Christianity was then deriving from this source.*

In regard to the reaction towards antiquity, which was the almost necessary consequence of a period of decay of classical learning, the attitude to be adopted by the representatives of the Church was clearly defined. Their promotion of the newly-revived studies certainly in some sense denoted a breach with the later Middle Ages, which had unduly repressed the ancient literature, and, in consequence, fallen into a most complete and deplorable indifference as to elegancies of form, but it involved no breach with the Middle Ages as a whole, far less with Christian antiquity in general.†

But this reaction in the Renaissance took a special colouring and shape from the circumstances of the time in which it occurred. It was a melancholy period of almost universal corruption and torpor in the life of the Church, which from the beginning of the fourteenth century had been manifesting itself in the weakening of the authority of the Pope, the worldliness of the clergy, the decline of the scholastic philosophy and theology, and the terrible disorders in political and civil life.‡ The dangerous elements, which no doubt the ancient literature contained, were presented to a generation intellectually and physically over-wrought, and in many ways unhealthy. It is no wonder, therefore, that some of the votaries of the new tendency turned aside into perilous paths. The beginnings of these defections can already be traced in Petrarch and

* Haffner, *Die Renaissance*, 116-117.

† Daniel, 184 *et seq.* See *Histor. Polit. Blätter* xxxiv., 637 *et seq.* With regard to the neglect of form in the later part of the Middle Ages, Paulsen very justly observes, 28-29, that Humanism furnished its complementary contrast; it displays an exclusive attention to form, often combined with an absolute indifference to matter. The matter is frequently a mere lay figure set up to exhibit the elegance of the garment.

‡ Haffner, *Grundlinien*, 625. Daniel, 199, 207, 222. See Book i., Chapter I.

Boccaccio, the founders of the Renaissance literature, though they never themselves forsook the Church.

The contrasts here apparent became more and more marked as time went on.*

On the one side the banner of pure heathenism was raised by the fanatics of the classical ideal. Its followers wished to bring about a radical return to paganism both in thought and manners. The other side strove to bring the new element of culture into harmony with the Christian ideal, and the political and social civilization of the day.† These two parties represented the false and the true, the heathen and the Christian Renaissance.

The latter party, whose judgment was sufficiently free from fanatical bias to perceive that a reconciliation between existing tendencies would be more profitable than a breach with the approved principles of Christianity and the development of more than a thousand years, could alone produce real intellectual progress. To its adherents the world owes it, that the Renaissance was saved from bringing about its own destruction.

Not a few Humanists wavered between the two streams. Some sought to find a happy mean, while others were in youth carried away by the one current, and in mature age by the other.

No one has better expressed the programme of the radical heathenizing party than Lorenzo Valla in his book on *Pleasure*, published in 1431.‡

* The presence of these two opposing tendencies in the Humanism of the fourteenth century has been pointed out by A. Wesselofsky in the introduction to his edition of the "*Paradiso degli Alberti*." H. Janitschek also followed the same line, and thus succeeded in disentangling and bringing some order into the chaos of the literary life of the fifteenth century. See also Hettner, 168 *et seq.*

† Janitschek, 8, 9.

‡ L. Vallæ de voluptate ac vero bono libri III. (Basileæ, 1519); Vallæ, Opp. 896-999. Janitschek, who was the first rightly to estimate the importance of this work, believes it to have been written "between 1430 and 1435" (10). He has overlooked the fact that Vahlen, Vallæ opusc., 44, had previously, in 1869, determined this to be the time of its publication. A second work, composed about 1433, in which the Epicurean doctrines are professed in all their fulness, is mentioned by Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, I., 2nd edition, 470. Vahlen's (*loc. cit.* 46) opinion that these two works were never printed, is erroneous. Besides the Louvain edition of 1483 quoted by Voigt, I saw one printed at Cologne "in domo Quentell," in 1509.

This treatise, in some ways a very remarkable one, is divided into three dialogues, in which Lionardo Bruni represents the teaching of the Stoics, and Antonio Beccadelli that of the Epicureans, while Niccolò Niccoli maintains the cause of "the true good." These personages are well chosen. The grave majestic Bruni had really, as one of his unprinted works* proves, endeavoured to effect a union between Christian Ethics and the Stoic philosophy. Antonio Beccadelli, surnamed Panormita from his native city, Palermo, was his direct Antipodes. He was the author of "Hermaphroditus," a collection of epigrams far surpassing in obscenity the worst productions of ancient

* *Isagogicon moralis philosophiæ*. This treatise, like Bruni's other writings (see Mai, *Spic.* i., 548), enjoyed an uncommonly wide circulation. I have noted the following MSS.:—Arras, Town Library: Cod. 973 (from the Cathedral Library). Basle, Libr.: Cod. f. ii., 13. Dresden, Royal Library: Cod. C. 374, f. 35, 36 (imperfect). Escorial, Libr.: see Haenel, *Catal.* 951. Florence, Laurent. Libr.: Cod. Castellina, 92, f. 41-62; National Libr.: Cod. Magliabech, cl. vii., Cod. 180, n. 4; cl. xxiii., Cod. 148, n. 2; Cod. l. i., 31 (from S. Mark's). MS. Strozzi, cl. xxiii., Cod. 149, n. 2. Riccardian Libr.: Cod. m.-i.-xvi. and n.-ii.-xii. Milan, Trivulzio Libr.: Cod. 761, n. 3. Naples, National Libr.: Cod. viii., g. 12. Rome: Buoncompagni Libr.: (see Narducci's Catalogue, 130). Chigi Libr.: Cod. i., iv., 118. Vatic. Libr.: Cod. Vatic., 372 (unpagged towards the end, *Isag.* without title), 5116, f. 43-63. Regin., 777, f. 61b. *et seq.*, 786, f. 91-103b., 1555. Ottob., 1239, f. 1-13. Urbin., 1164, f. 98b. *et seq.*, 1173, f. 129 *et seq.*, 1339, f. 1 *et seq.*, 1439, f. 1 *et seq.* Turin, University Libr.: Cod. g. v., 34, f. 12 *et seq.* Vienna, Court Lib.: Cod. lat. 960 and 3420 (the extracts from this MS. in Janitschek, 101. a, 15, are not quite correct). Zeitz, Canons' Libr.: Cod. lxxviii. (F. Bech's Reckoning), f. 77-91. Following Janitschek, (101), and Voigt (ii. 2nd ed., 458), I had believed Bruni's *Isagogicon moralis disciplinæ* to be unprinted. This is not the case. On the contrary, I can mention two examples of this remarkable little book. The first of them, without a title-page, I found in a miscellaneous volume in the Library of the University at Innsbruck (Sig. ii. 6, f. 1051-2). Here it fills forty small unpagged quarto sheets. Another example, in a private library, gives a partially better text; and, like the one in the library at Innsbruck, must have been printed in Italy (Rome?) in the last third of the fifteenth century. This copy has the title-page: "Hysagoga Leonardi Aretini||. de philosophia morale ad Gale|| otum incipit foeliciter||" The closing words are: "Finitur introductio philosophiæ moralis|| Leonardi Aretini ad Galeotum suum||" It fills thirty small quarto sheets.

times. Niccolò Niccoli, "the reviver of Greek and Latin literature in Florence," was, in a certain sense, a type of the Christian Humanist; his fundamental principle was, that scientific investigation and Christian sentiment must go hand in hand. Even from friends such as Poggio and Marsuppini he would not tolerate words of disrespect for his faith; he detested all materialists and unbelievers. The errors of his life were atoned for by a most edifying death.*

We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the conclusion of the Dialogues; their purpose is simply to cast ridicule upon the Stoic morality, as used by the party of conciliation as a bond of union between heathen and Christian views, and that with the ulterior aim of casting ridicule on the moral teaching of the Church.†

Cautiously, but yet clearly enough and with seductive skill, the Epicurean doctrine was put forward as defending a natural right against the exactions of Christianity. The gist of this doctrine is summed up by Beccadelli, the exponent of Valla's own views, in the following sentences: "What has been produced and formed by nature cannot be otherwise than praiseworthy and holy;" "Nature is the same, or almost the same as God."

It has been remarked by a judge,‡ who is far from severe, that the last of these propositions, placing the creature on a footing of equality with the Creator, strikes at the very foundations of Christianity; the first demolishes those of morality, substituting for virtue pleasure, for the "will or love for what is good and the hatred of evil," pleasure, "whose good consists in gratifications of mind or body, from whatever source derived."

Beccadelli, the mouthpiece of Valla, further teaches, with perfect consistency, that the business of man is to enjoy the good things of nature, and this to their fullest extent. The "gospel of pleasure" demands the gratification of every sense; it completely ignores the barriers of chastity

* When this great scholar felt the approach of death, he had an altar erected in his sick room on which his friend Ambrogio Traversari said mass daily. The dying man received the Holy Viaticum with such devotion that all present were moved to tears. See the striking picture given by Vespasiano da Bisticci in Mai, i., 627 *et seq.*

† Janitschek, xi.

‡ Geiger, Renaissance, 132

and honour, and would have them abolished, where they still exist, as an injustice.* No sense is to be denied its appropriate satisfaction. The individual, says Valla plainly, may lawfully indulge all his appetites. Adultery is in the natural order. Indeed, all women ought to be in common. Plato's community of women is in accordance with nature. Adultery and unchastity are to be eschewed only when danger attends them: otherwise all sensual pleasure is good.†

Pleasure, pleasure, and nothing but pleasure! Sensual pleasure is, in Valla's eyes, the highest good, and therefore he esteems those nations of heathen antiquity happy, who raised voluptuousness to the rank of worship.‡ Vice becomes virtue, and virtue vice. All his indignation is called forth by the voluntary virginity ever so highly esteemed in Christendom. Continence is a crime against "kind" nature. "Whoever invented consecrated Virgins," he said, "introduced into the State a horrible custom, which ought to be banished to the furthest ends of the earth."

* The following passage will give a notion of the mad ideas which Beccadelli (Valla) puts forth (lib i., cap. 22): "*Ausim medius fidius affirmare, nisi foedæ simul et emeritæ mulieres reclamarent ac velut facto agmine impetum facerent, utpote quæ numero vincunt formosas vel nudas vel seminudas, per urbem utique in æstate incessuras, quod utinam, ut pro me dicam, hoc a viris fieri permetteretur et plus bellas corpore quam deformes, teneras quam exsiccatas andiremus. Nam si his fœminis, quæ pulchrum capillum, pulchram faciem, pulchrum pectus habent, has partes denudatas ferre patimur, cur in eas iniuriosi sumus quæ non iis partibus, sed aliis pulchræ sunt?*"

† Lib. i., cap. 38: "*De fornicatione et adulterio non improbando;*" "*Omnino nihil interest utrum cum marito coëat mulier an cum amatore.*" Cap. 40: "*Quod formula Platonica de communione fœminarum est secundum naturam.*" Cap. 41: "*Utile fore si fœminæ non essent singulorum.*" Cap. 42: "*Vitanda interdum stupra et adulteria propter metum et periculum.*" Cap. 43: "*Quod aliqui mœchi plectantur, non propterea mœchos esse dammandos.*" "*Si quis in adulterio deprehensus, morte aut alia pœna plectatur, is, si recte indicemus, imprudentiæ non incestus pœnas luit.*" "*Omnis voluptas bona est.*"

‡ The passage on this subject in the 46th chapter of the first book is as follows: "*Felices illæ fœminæ Siccenses (quæ est in Africa civitas), quæ vetere instituto, si rem non habebant, non in Vestæ templo ad perpetiendam continentiam retrudebantur, sed in fano Veneris dotem sibi comparabunt.*"

This institution has nothing to do with religion; "it is sheer superstition." "Of all human things, none is more insufferable than Virginity. If we were born after the law of nature, it is also a law of nature that we should in turn beget. If you must have women consecrating their whole lives to the service of religion, choose married women and, indeed, those whose husbands are priests. Observe, however, that all the Divinities, with the sole exception of Minerva, were married, and that Jupiter, so far as in him lay, could not endure virgins. Those who profess themselves to be consecrated virgins are either mad, or poor, or avaricious."*

The new Gospel of a life of pleasure, in opposition to the Scriptural law, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread," is indeed put forward only by way of argument, but this is done in a manner which gives the reader easily to understand that Valla himself agreed with it.

An able modern historian observes: "It is not surprising that these discussions earned for Valla the reputation of maintaining pleasure to be the chief good; that the form of disputation was looked upon as a simple precaution, and the triumph of Christian Ethics as a mere show of justice. The poisonous theory of life had been promulgated, it mattered little whether it was defended or not. Moreover, that which was known of the author's life said but little for his morality."†

Valla was not alarmed by the attacks of theologians on his daring opinions, for King Alfonso of Naples was his firm protector. On the contrary, he now betook himself to the realm of theology, and eagerly sought opportunities of encountering his ecclesiastical opponents.‡ His dialogue on religious vows, the first of his works to become known in recent times, here comes under our notice.§ It is of

* The passages quoted are in lib. i., cap. 44: "Non esse nefas virginitatibus sanctimonialibus immiscere;" and in cap. 46: "Accusatio virginitatis." In the first section occurs the following sentence, which cannot well be translated: "Melius merentur scorta et prostibula de genere humano, quam sanctimoniales virgines ac continentes."

† Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i., 2nd ed., 470. See Monrad-Michelsen, 44, 45.

‡ Voigt, *loc. cit.*, i., 2nd ed., 474.

§ *De professione religiosorum*, published by Vahlen, *Vallæ opusc.*, lxii., 99-135.

special interest, as in its pages Valla goes far beyond the previous attacks of the Humanists on the monastic life. His predecessors in this field had assailed the externals of the religious state; they had, under the guise of stories, held up the excesses of individuals to scorn. Valla, in this work, treats the subject quite differently. His attack is of a more radical character; he assails the monastic life in itself, combating the proposition, which has always been upheld by the Church, that by the same course of moral life, a man bound by religious vows attains higher merit and gains a greater reward than does one who belongs to no religious order.* The acrimonious remarks in regard to the clerical and monastic states, with which this book abounds, are of trifling importance in comparison with this, its main intent and purpose, which strikes at the very root of the religious life in general.

With equal audacity and venom, Valla turned his arms against the temporal power of the Papacy, in his pamphlet, "On the falsely credited and invented Donation of Constantine."† Considerations affecting the genuineness of this document had been put forward some years previously by the learned Nicholas of Cusa, in his "Catholic Concordance;" and, independently of Valla and Cusa, Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, in the middle of the fifteenth century, showed by a careful sifting of the historical evidence the untenable character of this long-credited document.‡ But Valla, in his work, went a great deal further than these writers. In his hands the proof that the document was a recent forgery became a violent attack on the Temporal Power of the Popes. If Constan-

* The idea attacked by Valla is very beautifully expressed in a sermon by St. Bernardine of Siena, which has not yet been printed: *Sermo fratris Bernardini de Senis de sacra religione, et quod melius est bonum facere ex voto quam ex libera voluntate. Cod. A.D., xiii., 41, n. 7. Libr. of Brera at Milan.

† De falsa credita et eumentita Constantini donatione declamatio, first printed by Hutten, 1517, with an insolent preface, addressed to Leo X. (see D. F. Strauss, Hutten, i., 280-285, and Janssen, Deutsche Gesch., ii., 62, 63), and often subsequently printed.

‡ Döllinger, Papst-Fabeln, 193, 104. In the year 1443, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini urged Frederick III. to bring the question of Constantine's Donation under the consideration of a Council. Mühlbacher, in the Mittheilungen, ii., 115 *et seq.*, shows how, later on, the Imperial Chancery took cognizance of the results of contemporary criticisms of this document.

tine's Donation be a forgery of later times, he concluded, then the Temporal Principality of the Popes falls to ruin, and the Pope has nothing more urgent to do than to divest himself of the usurped power.* The Pope is all the more bound to do this, because, according to Valla's view, all the corruption in the church and all the wars and misfortunes of Italy are the consequence of this usurpation.

The virulence of Valla's denunciations against the "overbearing, barbarous, tyrannical Priestly domination" has scarcely been surpassed in later times. "The Popes," he says, "were always filching away the liberties of the people, and therefore when opportunity offers the people rise. If at times they willingly consent to the Papal rule, which may happen when a danger threatens from some other side, it must not be understood that they have agreed to continue slaves, never again to free their necks from the yoke, and that their posterity has no right of settling their own affairs. That would be in the highest degree unjust. We came of our own free will to you, O Pope, and asked you to govern us; of our own free will we go away from you again, that you may no longer govern us. If we owe you anything, then make out the debit and credit account. But you wish to rule over us against our will, as if we were orphans, although we might perhaps be capable of governing you with greater wisdom. Moreover, reckon up the injustices, which have so often been inflicted on this State by you or the magistrates you have appointed. We call God to witness that your injustice constrains us to rise against you, as Israel of old rose against Jeroboam. And the injustices of those days, the exaction of heavy tributes, how trifling were they in comparison with our disasters! Have you enervated our State? You have. Have you plundered our churches? You have. Have you outraged matrons and virgins? You have. Have you shed the blood of citizens in our towns? You have. Shall we bear this? Or shall we, perhaps, because you choose to take the place of a father, forget that we are children? As a father, O Pope, or, if the title suits you better, as a lord, we have called you hither, and not as an enemy or an executioner. Although the injuries we have suffered might justify us, we will not imitate your cruelty or your impiety, for we are Christians. We will not raise the avenging

* Vahlen, Valla, 202, 203. See Invernizzi, 123 *et seq.*

sword against your head, but after we have dismissed and removed you, we will appoint another father and lord. Sons are permitted to flee from evil parents who have brought them up, and shall we not be allowed to flee from you, who are not our real father, but only a foster-father who has treated us extremely ill? Attend to your priestly office, and do not set up a throne in the regions of night, thence to thunder forth and hurl the hissing lightnings against this and other nations. The forgery of Constantine's gift has become a reason for the devastation of all Italy. The time has come to stop the evil at its source. Therefore I say and declare—for if I put my trust in God I will not be afraid of men—that during the years of my life, not one true and prudent steward has occupied the Papal Chair. Far from giving food and bread to the family of God, the Pope declares war against peaceful nations, and sows discord between States and Princes. The Pope thirsts after foreign possessions, and exhausts his own. He is what Achilles called Agamemnon, 'a king who devours the people.'”*

It will be seen that it is Valla, not Machiavelli, who started the often-repeated assertion that the Popes are to blame for all Italy's misfortunes. Like the Florentine historian, Valla knows not, or else forgets, that the Church and her rulers preserved the most valuable elements of the ancient culture for humanity, civilized the barbarians, and created mediæval international law—that the Primate as head of the one Church founded by Christ must necessarily have fixed his seat in the capital of ancient power and civilization, and in order perfectly to fulfil his high office, must be a monarch and not a subject.†

As to the important question, in what light the more recent gifts of territory to the Holy See were to be re-

* Vallæ Opp., 793, 794. Monrad-Michelsen, 32-34.

† Hipler, *Geschichts-Auffassung*, 73. Phillips, v., 705. With regard to Machiavelli, and also Valla, Wegele, (*Dante*, 5.) justly observes that it is impossible to make the Popes alone responsible for the political disruption of Italy. “Certainly, as they claimed a political and territorial position, the (centralized) unity of Italy, whether under a native or a foreign prince, could never enter into their desires and plans; and yet it is none the less certain that the sympathies of the Italians themselves were almost always with them in this matter, and accordingly they, too, must be held in some measure responsible for the disunion of Italy.”

garded, Valla proceeds very simply. He maintains that, being renewals of Constantine's ancient gift, they could not constitute a new right! The objection that, failing Constantine's document, the temporal possessions of the Popes rested on the right of prescription, he meets with the assertion that, in the case of unauthorized dominion over men, the right of prescription has no existence, and that, even if it had, it would long since have been forfeited by the tyranny of the Popes. This tyranny was all the more crying because the exercise of temporal power was quite inconsistent with the duties of a spiritual Head.*

In the above-mentioned pamphlet, which is a caricature of the government of the Popes, and openly calls the Vicars of Christ "tyrants, thieves, and robbers,"† the author of the "Dialogue on Pleasure" frequently assumes the air of a pious Christian. He endeavours to speak in an edifying manner of "the loftiness and grandeur" of the spiritual office of the Popes, and brings forward a number of quotations from Holy Scripture. In strange contrast with these passages in his work are the oft-repeated passionate appeals to the Romans, urging them to revolt against the temporal power of the Holy See. Valla also addresses the Princes; paints in the darkest colours the grasping ambition of Rome, and pronounces them to be justified in depriving the Pope of the States of the Church.‡ He concludes this menacing libel with a formal declaration of war against the Papacy. "If the Pope refuses," he says, "to quit the dwelling, which does not belong to him, and return to his own, and to take refuge from the angry waves in the haven of his own vocation, I will set about a second discourse, which will be much more violent than the present one."§

In order to form a correct estimate of Valla's anti-papal pamphlet, the circumstances under which it appeared must be taken into consideration. According to his own account, he wrote it six years after the insurrection of the Romans against Eugenius IV. This Pope, who, as feudal Lord of Naples, favoured the claims of the House of Anjou, was at

* Vahlen, Valla, 203.

† Vallæ Opp. 791.

‡ Vallæ Opp. 762.

§ *Loc. cit.*, 795. The very title, "Successor of Peter," seems to Valla unsuitable, (Opp. 776); some of his expressions sound actually Protestant. See Monrad-Michelsen, 10.

the time in open conflict with King Alfonso, who, on his side, supported the schismatics of Basle. This state of affairs explains how Valla, living under the protection of the King, could venture thus to declare war against the head of the Church and the spiritual power.* The sincerity of his convictions as to the unrighteousness of the temporal power of the Holy See soon became apparent. After the reconciliation of the Neapolitan Monarch with Eugenius IV., he made every possible effort to enter the Papal service. In a humble letter addressed to the Pope, whom he had so lately abused as a tyrant, he retracted his former writings, and expressed his willingness in future to devote himself to the service of the Apostolic See.†

"The treatise regarding Constantine's grant," says an author who occupies almost the same position as Valla, "was the boldest attack on the temporal power ever ventured on by any reformer; was it then strange that a new popular tribune—a Stefano Porcaro—should arise?"‡ In zealously prosecuting the pamphlet the Papacy merely acted in self-defence. Any other Government would have done the same, for Valla called on the Romans to drive the Pope from Rome, and even intimated that it would be lawful to kill him.§ That the ideas, expressed with such unexampled

* See Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i., 2nd ed., 473 *et seq.*, and Monrad-Michelsen, 10-26 (Clausen, L. Valla, Kjöbenhavn, 1861).

† Hettner, 172, justly calls Valla unprincipled. That those who shared Valla's opinions "showed no excess of stubbornness, or heretical obstinacy," (Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, ii., 2nd ed., 478), and had no principle, has been often and justly repeated in recent times (see Villari, i., 120, 129, and Comba, 428). If Valla wrote to the once reviled Eugenius IV., "*Ut si quid retractione opus est, et quasi ablutione, en tibi me nudum offero*," Pomponius Lætus confessed to Paul II. : "*Fateor et me errasse et ideo pœnas mereri. . . . Rursus peto veniam*." Platina even offered to become an informer : "*Tibi polliceor, etiam si prætervolantibus avibus aliquid quod contra nomen salutemque tuam sit, audiero, id statim literis aut nunciis Sanctitati tuæ me indicaturum*."

‡ Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 535.

§ Opp. 792. Monrad-Michelsen, 35. Cochläus, writing at a later date, points out with great justice, that Valla's book was not condemned for calling in question the genuineness of Constantine's Donation, but for its abuse of the Apostolic See; if he had modestly defended the truth his work would have been as little objected to as the writings of the other opponents of the Document. C. Otto, *Cochläus der Humanist* (Breslau, 1874), 74, 75.

audacity, fell on a fruitful soil is evidenced by the attempt of Stefano Porcaro on the life of Nicholas V., and also by the fact that later on, in the time of Pius II., the Papal Secretary, Antonio Cortese, brought out an "Anti-Valla." Unfortunately, only a fragment* of this unprinted work is preserved in the Library of the Chapter at Lucca, which also contains another work against Valla and in defence of the temporal power of the Holy See.†

Valla's audacious attack on Christian morals in his dialogue "On Pleasure" was far surpassed by Antonio Beccadelli Panormita († 1471).‡ Repulsive though the subject be, we must speak of his "Hermaphroditus" or collection of epigrams, because the spirit of the false Renaissance is here manifested in all its hideousness. "The Book," says the Historian of Humanism, "opens a view into an abyss of iniquity, but wreathes it with the most beautiful flowers of poetry." The most horrible crimes of heathen antiquity, crimes whose very name a Christian cannot utter without reluctance, were here openly glorified. The poet, in his facile verses, toyed with the worst forms of sensuality, as if they were the most natural and familiar themes for wit and merriment. "And moreover, he complacently confessed himself the author of this obscene book, justified it by the examples of the old Roman poets, and looked down upon the strict guardians of morality as narrow-minded dullards, incapable of appreciating the voluptuous graces of the ancients."§ Cosmo de' Medici accepted the dedication of this loath-

* Con. 582, f. 491-499, viii., folia Antivallæ Cortesii, made use of by Fabricius-Mansi, vi., 574, and Tiraboschi, vi., 2, 347. See also under the section on Stef. Porcaro's Conspiracy, where the necessary observations are made regarding Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini's paper on the subject.

† Quod papa præsit temporalibus contra L. Vallam in ea oratione, quam fecit de ementita donatione Constantini; (this is addressed to the Pope—strongly against Valla;) Valdensis potius quam Vallensis appellandus est, f. 270-274 of Cod. 582, of the Chapter Library at Lucca.

‡ Regarding Beccadelli, see besides the works cited by Voigt, Wiederbel. i, 2nd ed., 484, the new work of F. Ramorino, Contributi alla storia biogr. e critica di A. B. (Palermo, 1883).

§ Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 481. See Reumont's judgment, Gesch., iii., i., 320, 508, 509, and Invernizzi, 166.

some book, which is proved by the countless copies in the Italian libraries to have had but too wide a circulation.*

Beccadelli's disgraceful work did not, unfortunately, stand alone, for Poggio, Filelfo and Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini have much to answer for in the way of highly-seasoned anecdotes and adventures. No writing of the so-called Humanists, however, equals Beccadelli's collection of epigrams in impurity. The false heathen Renaissance culminates in this repulsive "Emancipation of the Flesh," sagaciously characterized by a modern historian as the forerunner of the great Revolution, which in the following centuries shook Europe to its centre.†

The representatives of the Church, who in later times were often too indulgent towards the manifold excesses of the Humanists, happily did their duty on this occasion, and met this "appalling fruit of faith in the infallibility of the ancients" with decision. Pope Eugenius IV. forbade the reading of this work under pain of excommunication. Cardinal Cesarini, a zealous friend of Humanism, destroyed it, wherever he could get possession of it. The most celebrated preachers of the day, St. Bernardine of Siena and Roberto da Lecce, earnestly warned their hearers against such vile literature, and burned Beccadelli's Epigrams in the open squares at Milan and Bologna. Counter publications were also circulated by the ecclesiastical party. The manuscript of a long indictment against Beccadelli, composed by the Franciscan, Antonio da Rho, is preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The Carthusian, Mariano de Volterra, composed a poem against him, and the learned Minorite, Alberto da Sarteano, wrote a letter of warning to the young men of Ferrara, and also a larger

* Janitschek, 101, Guarino of Verona and A. Loschi praised the "Hermaphroditus" (Schio, 118), and even a Bishop (he belongs to the days of John XXIII.) expressed a wish to read the book. See Ant. Beccadelli ep., lib. iv. (Neapoli, 1746), ep. ii., 23.

† Gregorovius, vii., 2nd ed., 499, without indeed distinguishing between the heathen and the Christian Renaissance, writes, "The revival of learning was the first great act of that immense moral transformation in which Europe was involved, and whose marked epochs are: the Italian Renaissance, the German Reformation, and the French Revolution." In reference to Luther's connection with the Libertine Humanism, see the Protestant Paulsen, 128 *et seq.*

work, with a view of counteracting the influence of this impure poet.*

The sensation caused by this vile book was so great that even Poggio, who was certainly by no means over-particular in such matters, advised Beccadelli in future to choose graver subjects, inasmuch as "Christian poets are not allowed the license enjoyed by the heathen." Beccadelli had the insolence to defend himself against this slight reproof, which was not very seriously meant, by an appeal to the authority of the ancients. A great many "learned, worthy, holy Greeks and Romans had," he said, "sung of such things; and yet the works of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Juvenal, Martial, Virgil, and Ovid were universally read; the very Prince of Philosophers, Plato himself, had written wanton verses." Beccadelli then gives a list of Greek philosophers and statesmen, who had indulged in writings of this description, and yet been virtuous. Similarly in his epigrams he had been careful to declare, that although his writings were immodest his life was spotless.† If Beccadelli really believed what he said, daily experience should have taught him another lesson. The horrible crimes which had been the curse of the ancient world, and which were the theme of his elegant verses, raged like a moral pestilence in his time in the larger towns of Italy, especially among the higher classes of society. Florence, Siena, and Naples were described as the chief seats of these excesses;‡ in Siena, indeed, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, it had been found necessary, as in ancient Rome, to legislate against the prevailing celibacy of men.§ Lucca and Venice also bore

* See Tiraboschi, vi., 2, 91, and Voigt, *loc. cit.* 482 *et seq.* The burning of the book in Ferrara in presence of Eugenius IV., mentioned by Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 324, as well as by Voigt and Invernizzi, 166, is not proved.

† Ant. Panormitæ Hermaphroditus, ed. F. C. Forberg (Coburgi, 1824), 40, 113. The letter to Poggio is printed in this work (5-13).

‡ *Loc. cit.*, 54. See Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 471 *et seq.* Güdemann, *Gesch. des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Italien während des M. A.* (Wien, 1884), 217 *et seq.*, and Burckhardt, *Cultur*, ii., 3rd ed., 199 *et seq.*, who very justly remarks: "The more clearly the evidence seems to speak in this sense, the more must we be on our guard against its unconditional acceptance or generalization."

§ L. Fumi, *Bando di prender moglie in Siena* (Siena, 1878).

an evil name in regard to the prevalence of those vices, which had no small share in bringing about the downfall of Greece.*

The corrupting effects of the false, profligate Humanism represented by Valla and Beccadelli made themselves felt to an alarming extent in the province of religion, as well as in that of ethics. The enthusiasm for everything connected with the ancient world was carried to such an excess, that the forms of antiquity alone were held to be beautiful, and its ideas alone to be true. The ancient literature came to be looked upon as capable of satisfying every spiritual need, and as sufficing for the perfection of humanity. Accordingly its admirers sought to resuscitate ancient life as a whole, and that, the life of the period of the decadence from which alone they were acquainted. Grave deviations from Christian modes of thought and conduct were the necessary consequences of such opinions.†

In the beginning of the fifteenth century Cino da Rinuccini brought forward a list of serious charges against the adherents of the false Renaissance. "They praise Cicero's work *De Officiis*," he says, "but they ignore the duty of controlling their passions and regulating their life accord-

* With regard to Lucca, see S. Bongi, *Inventario del archivio di stato in Lucca* (1872), i., 213 *et seq.* In the Council of Constance, the Italians in general were reproached with this crime; see Reber, Hemmerlin, 59. On the 2nd May, 1455, the Council of Ten in Venice passed the following resolution*: "Cum clarissime intelligatur quantum multiplicet in hac civitate abhominabile et detestandum vicium sodomitii, unde ad obviendum huic pessimo morbo et ne provocemus super nos iram domini nostri Dei, est totis sensibus et ingeniis providendum: vadit pars quod eligi debeant per capita huius consilii duo nobiles nostri mature etatis pro qualibet contrata, qui tales electi sint per unum annum, etc." The names are given of the men elected for each Quarter (Sextarium, sestiere) who were to put down this crime. See *Misti dei Dieci* T. XV, f. 49b-50: State Archives of Venice. Cf. also P. G. Molmenti, *La Storia di Venezia nella vita privata*, 2 ediz. (Torino, 1880, 287, 288, and Graziani, 568.)

† The position of these Humanists in regard to the Church was naturally very different from that which the two founders and pioneers of the Renaissance had occupied. The steady growth of this false tendency during the latter part of the fifteenth century, will be described in a future volume of this work. The false Renaissance is not to be considered as responsible for all the immorality of the age; it aggravated it, but was not the sole cause.

ing to the rules of true Christian chastity. They are devoid of all family affection, they despise the holy institution of marriage, and live without rule. They avoid all labour for the State—either by word or action—saying that he who serves the community serves nobody. As to theology, they give undue praise to Varro's works, and secretly prefer them to the Fathers of the Church. They even presume to assert that the heathen gods had a more real existence than the God of the Christian religion, and they will not remember the wonders wrought by the saints.”*

There may be, perhaps, some exaggeration† in these charges, but it cannot be denied, that enthusiastic admiration for the ancients exercised a most deleterious influence on the Christian conscience and life of the representatives of the false Renaissance. Even Petrarch lamented the fact, that to confess the Christian faith and esteem it higher than the heathen philosophy was called stupidity and ignorance, and that people went so far as even to deem literary culture incompatible with faith.‡

It is recorded of the celebrated Florentine Statesman, Rinaldo degli Albizzi, that he held a disputation with a physician versed in philosophy, on the question whether science is in opposition to Christian faith. Like Pietro Pomponazzo, a century later, Albizzi maintained the affirmative, supporting his opinion by quotations from Aristotle.§ Carlo Marsuppini, of Arezzo, the State Chancellor of the Florentine Republic, openly manifested a great contempt for Christianity and an unbounded admiration for the heathen religion. He adhered to these sentiments to the end, and a contemporary says, “He died without confession or Communion, and not as a good Christian.”||

* The “Invettiva” of Rinuccini is printed in the *Paradiso degli Alberti*, ed. A. Wesselofsky, i., 2, 303-317. See Janitschek, 10.

† Geiger in the *Göttinger Gel. Anz.*, 1880, p. 694, points out, in reference to Janitschek, that in order to give an appearance of justice to his charges, the assailant is too ready to draw a caricature of the other party, and this remark applies also to Rinuccini. Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, ii., 2nd ed., 479, however, unhesitatingly adopts Rinuccini's view.

‡ See Körting, i., 426, 427.

§ *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi*, iii., 601-618. Reumont, *Lorenzo de Medici*, i., 2nd ed., 394.

|| Mazzuchelli, *Scritt. d'Italia*, i., 2, 1004. See Tiraboschi, vi., 2, 375, and Villari, i., 106. “Luigi Marsigli and Colluccio Salutato,” says Hettner, 167, “adopted the religious ideas of Cicero,

Few, however, went to such lengths; most of these men, when the reality of death drew near, abandoned their empty speculations, and a penitent return to the dogmas of the faith took the place of their former vagaries. Even such men as Codro Urceo and Machiavelli, before their end, sought the aid of the Church, from which their lives and opinions had estranged them, and whose graces and blessings their writings had contemned; they died after making their confession, fortified with the consolations of religion.*

The adherents of the false Renaissance, with scarcely an exception, were, during life, indifferent to religion. They looked on their classical studies, their ancient philosophy, and the faith of the Church as two distinct worlds, which had no point of contact. From considerations of worldly prudence or convenience they still professed themselves Catholics, while in their hearts they were more or less alienated from the Church. In many cases, indeed, the very foundations of faith and morals were undermined by the triumph of false Humanism.† The literary men and artists of this school lived in their ideal world of classic dreams; theirs was a proud and isolated existence. The real world of social and, yet more, that of moral and religious life, with its needs, its struggles, and its sacrifices,

Virgil, and Seneca. The ancient notions of destiny and fortune were spoken of more than God." To enable us to understand the opinions of these men, the publication of Salutato's didactic poem,* *De fato et fortuna*, would be most desirable. Only a portion of it is printed. See Voigt, 2nd ed., 207, note 5. MS. copies are numerous. In the Laurentian Library at Florence I saw two copies of the MS., Plut., liii., Cod. 18, and Sma. Annunziata, 86.

* Frantz., Sixtus IV., 187. Müntz, *La Renaissance*, 14 *et seq.*, and Hipler, 74. As to Machiavelli, see particularly Villari, iii., 324 *et seq.*; and as to Codro Urceo, see Burckhardt, ii., 3rd ed., 274, and a monograph by C. Malagola, *Della vita e delle opere di Antonio Urceo detto Codro* (Bologna, 1878), 191.

† Lechler, ii., 500, 501. Körting, i., 193, 194; iii., 245. Burckhardt, *Cultur*, ii., 3rd ed., 274, says: "Most of them must inwardly have wavered between scepticism and fragments of the Catholic faith, in which they had been brought up, and externally from motives of prudence adhered to the Church." Hettner, 57, very aptly remarks: It is not in the nature of the Latin race to grub and delve like Faust; dogmatic questions were discussed, but not solved. They were either rank sceptics or careless hypocrites."

was far too common and too burdensome for their notice ; and they only condescended to take part in it, in so far as was necessary in order to bring themselves into view and to share in its advantages."*

Overweening self-esteem was a characteristic of all these men ; they never thought themselves sufficiently appreciated. Some of them, as for example, Filelfo, cherished a fixed idea that they were the geniuses of their age, and that the whole world must give way to them because they spoke Greek and wrote Latin with elegance.† Notwithstanding all the Stoical phrases, which adorned their discourses and writings, these Humanists were fond of money and good cheer, desirous of honour and admiration, eager to find favour with the rich and noble, quarrelsome amongst themselves, ready for any intrigue, calumny, or baseness, that would serve to ruin a rival.‡

Poggio Bracciolini may be taken as a genuine representative of this false Humanism. This gifted writer, "the most fortunate discoverer the world has ever known in the field of literature," is, as a man, one of the most repulsive figures of the period. Almost all the vices of the profligate Renaissance are to be found combined in his person, and it would be hard to say whether his slanderous disposition or the gross immorality of his life is most worthy of condemnation.

Notwithstanding occasional expressions of another kind in his writings, there can be no doubt that Poggio's point of view was more heathen than Christian. Christianity and the Church were entirely outside his sphere. To quote the words of the biographer of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, "he

* Weiss, *Apologie*, iii. Elsewhere he very ably discusses the influence of this tendency on art. See on this subject, *Cantù*, i., 188.

† See Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i., 2nd ed., 355, 516; ii., 2nd ed., 367; Burckhardt, *Cultur*, i., 3rd ed., 339, note 1, p. 246. The audacity and pretentiousness of Humanists of this type were often amazing. As, for example, when Poggio in his **Invectiva in Nic. Perottum* says : "Senectutem ego meam ita ad hanc diem produxi, ut omni pudore honestetur, omni careat dedecore, ut nulli sit in ea locus impudentiæ," etc. Cod. 17, f. 42, Plut. xlvii. of the Laurentian Library in Florence.

‡ Körting, iii., 157. Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i., 2nd ed., 329. Burckhardt, *Cultur*, i., 3rd ed., 311 *et seq.* Schnaase, viii., 2nd ed., 536.

was such a worshipper of heathen antiquity, that he would certainly have given away all the treasures of dogmatic theology for a new discourse of Cicero." * A remarkable example of his heathen, or rather indifferent, state of mind is furnished by his well-known letter to the Council of Constance on the occasion of the burning of Jerome of Prague. Poggio speaks with the greatest enthusiasm of Jerome, from which, however, it is not to be inferred that he approved of his opinions. On the contrary, the conception of a martyr to any faith was as foreign to the mind of this follower of the false Renaissance as to that of a heretic. The thing which he admired in Jerome was of a very different kind. The courage with which this man met death reminded him of Cato, and of Mutius Scevola, and he considered the eloquence of his address to the Council as approaching that of the ancients. The decision of the ecclesiastical authority is scarcely noticed by Poggio; he only regrets that so noble an intellect should have turned to heresy; "If," he adds, "the accusations brought against him are true." This doubt is, however, disposed of by the cool observation, "it is not my business to judge of the matter; I contented myself with the opinion of those who are considered wiser than I am." †

Almost all the writings of Poggio are offensively obscene and coarse. The worst in this respect, after his "*Facetiæ*," are his shameless and immoral letter on the license which prevailed at the baths of Zurich, ‡ and his libels on Filelfo and

* Voigt, *Enea Silvio*, i., 197. See also Villari, i., 96 *et seq.* Reumont, Lorenzo, i., 2nd ed., 381. With regard to Poggio's Life, see also Shepherd's *Life of Poggio*, translated into Italian with additions by T. Tonelli, 2 vols. (Florence, 1825). A new edition of Poggio's letters, based upon the study of MSS. relating to them, is being prepared by Prof. A. Wilmanns, at Göttingen. I have to thank the kindness of this scholar for access to the 2nd and 3rd volume of Tonelli's collection of the *Epist. Poggii*, which are extremely rare. (Even Reumont, Lorenzo, i., 2nd ed., 381, is not acquainted with the 3rd vol.)

† This remarkable document has often been printed. Tonelli, i., 11-20. Regarding the opinion, see Voigt, *Enea Silvio*, *loc. cit.* Villari, i., 97, and Hettner, 170. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini also speaks in a strange manner of the burning of Jerome, *Hist. Boh.*, c. xxxvi.

‡ *De balneis prope Thuregum sitis descriptio*. Opp. 297-301, published in French and in Latin by A. Méray, *Les bains de Bade*

Valla.* "Like the lowest boy out of the streets," says the historian of Humanism, "Poggio assails his adversary with the coarsest abuse and the basest calumny." He accuses these two Humanists of every kind of turpitude, and the greater part of the work is unfit for translation.†

The impression produced is a strange one, when a writer, whose own life was so far from respectable,‡ sets himself up as a censor of the depraved morals of the monks and clergy. Poggio cannot find words sufficiently stinging with which to brand the hypocrisy, cupidity, ignorance, arrogance, and immorality of the clergy. The monks, however, are everywhere the especial object of his sarcasm, often, indeed, in discourses, letters, and treatises, where such sentiments might least have been looked for.§ Violent attacks upon them are to be found, as in his dialogues on Avarice and on Human misery, and in his book against hypocrites. "There are monks," he says, "who call themselves mendicant friars, but it seems rather that they bring others to beggary, being themselves idle and living by the sweat of other men. Some of these assume the name of Observantines. I do not know what good all these can

(Paris, 1876). See D. Hess, *Die Badenfahrt* (Zürich, 1818), *Archiv. für österr. Gesch.*, xxi., 143, 149. Regarding the "Facetiæ," see Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, ii., 2nd ed., 15 *et seq.*, and Landau, *Ital. Novelle*, 68 *et seq.*

* Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i., 2nd ed., 338.

† Such is the opinion of Raumer, i., 2nd ed., 40. Poggio's works alone, says Burckhardt (i., 3rd ed., 312) contain impurity enough to bring the whole band into disrepute. Villari (i., 102), after mentioning the invectives which Valla and Poggio flung at each other, concludes "Let us escape from this filthy region." See further Ch. Nisard, *Les Gladiateurs de la République des Lettres*, etc., 2 vol. (Paris, 1860).

‡ In his 55th year Poggio left the woman with whom he had hitherto lived, and who had borne him fourteen children, to marry a young girl of good family. He justified this proceeding in the Dialogue: *An seni sit uxor ducenda*. "An essay in elegant Latin," says Villari (i., 101), "sufficed to solve the most difficult problems of life, and to set the conscience at rest." We may here take the opportunity of rectifying a very strange mistake of Burckhardt, *Cultur*, ii., 3rd ed., 237. Poggio is represented as an ecclesiastic, although Vespasiano da Bisticci expressly says: "Non volle attendere a farsi prete." Mai, *Spicil.*, i., 547.

§ Geiger, *Renaissance*, 104. Invernizzi, 91 *et seq.*

be said to do; I only know that most who call themselves Minorites and Observantines are rude peasants and idle mercenaries, who aim not at holiness of life, but at escaping from work."* Even in their preaching, according to Poggio, the object of the monks is not the healing of sick souls, but the applause of the simple folk whom they entertain with buffooneries. They indulge their boorish loquacity without restraint, and are often more like apes than preachers.†

In order to understand how unjustifiable is this caricature of the monks, we must remember that the Religious Orders gave to Italy in the fifteenth century a line of preachers whose devotion to their calling and whose power and earnestness have, even after the lapse of ages, commanded the esteem of those who differ from them. The limits of this work do not permit us to enter into a detailed account of all the brilliant and truly popular orators who produced the remarkable and copious pulpit literature of the age of the Renaissance. The most celebrated preachers of the Franciscan Order were—St. Bernardine of Siena († 1444), Alberto da Sarteano († 1450), St. Jacopo della Marca († 1476), St. John Capistran († 1456), Antonio di Rimini (about 1450), Silvestro di Siena (about 1450), Giovanni di Prato (about 1455), Antonio di Bitonto († 1459), Roberto da Lecce († 1483), Antonio di Vercelli († 1483).‡

* Opp., 102.

† Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, ii., 2nd ed., 220 (see p. 16). Geiger, *Renaissance*, 104 *et seq.*, gives other similar passages. Norrenberg, in opposition to Voigt, justly shows in *Hülskamps Lit. Handweiser*, 1882 (p. 16), and in his *Literaturgeschichte* (ii., 10), that too much importance is not to be attached to the feud between the Humanists and the Religious Orders. Indeed, as Poggio wished to be buried in the Franciscans' Church of Santa Croce at Florence, and allowed both of his sons to enter the ecclesiastical state, his attacks on the monks do not prove that antagonism against them, which modern writers suppose. His eldest son became a Dominican; the father's objection was merely because he would rather have led him to Humanistic studies, and did not arise from any aversion to the state of life in itself.

‡ Information regarding the above will be found in Wadding, *Script. Ord. Min.* (Romæ, 1650), and Sbaralea, *Suppl. Script. Francisc.* (1806); see also Chevalier, *Répert.*, under the foregoing names. In the Dominican Order, besides G. Dominici, Giovanni di Napoli († 1460), Gabriele Barletta († 1470) [see Echard I.,

In his celebrated work on the Renaissance, Burckhardt admirably describes the meaning of these Italian preachers of penance. "There was," he says, "no prejudice stronger than that which existed against the mendicant friars; the preachers overcame it. The supercilious Humanists criticized and mocked; when the preachers raised their voices they were entirely forgotten." With his usual sagacity, this scholar remarks that the men, who bore within them this mighty fervour and this religious vocation, were, in the north, of a mystical and contemplative stamp, and in the south, expansive, practical, and imbued with the national taste for eloquence.* And here we may mention that St. Bernardine of Siena is said to have studied oratory from the ancient models, and that Alberto da Sarteano, one of his most distinguished disciples and followers, certainly did so.†

Too little attention has as yet been bestowed on the action of these preachers of penance, who were highly esteemed and sought after by the people, and even by worldly-minded princes,‡ and zealously supported by the Popes, especially by Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V. When the History of Preaching in Italy at the period of the Renaissance is written, it will be seen that the free and fervent exercise of this office is one of the most cheering signs, in an age clouded with many dark shadows. It became evident that a new spirit had begun to stir in ecclesiastical life. Many proofs are before us that in Italy and in the other countries of Christendom the words of

820, 844], M. Carrieri, and finally Savonarola, were distinguished as preachers. As we are now dealing with the Early Renaissance, I must refer to a later Volume for a notice of the last-named eloquent preacher.

* Burckhardt, *Cultur*, ii., 3rd ed., 238-240. The close connection of the establishment of the Monti di Pietà with the action of the preachers is shown by Ciampi, *Niccola della Tuccia*, xxiv.

† Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, ii., 2nd ed., 231; see 233. We shall speak of St. Bernardine later on. Reumont (iii., i., 69) says he is one of the men, who, like St. Francis of Assisi and St. Antony of Padua, work on the masses by the fire of love, enkindling them from the glow of their own hearts.

‡ See the * Letter of Fr. Sforza, Duke of Milan, to the Observantines in Bologna, dated 1455, April 28 (regarding Antonio de Bitonto), and his letter to Roberto da Lecce, dated 1458, Dec. 5, in MS. 1613 of the Fonds Ital.: National Library, Paris.

censure and warning were not spoken in vain. No age, perhaps, offers such striking scenes in the conversion of all classes of the people, of whole towns and provinces, as does that, whose wounds were so fearlessly laid bare by Saints Vincent Ferrer, Bernardine of Siena, John Capistran, and by Savonarola.*

"An age," as a modern historian observes, "which thus perceives and acknowledges its faults, is certainly not among the worst of ages. If in the individual the recognition of a fault is the first step to amendment, it cannot be otherwise in regard to whole classes of men, to nations, and to the Church itself. No one who bestows even a superficial glance on the literature of the period, can deny that this recognition existed in the Church in the time of the Renaissance. The first and most essential step towards amendment had been taken, and there was well grounded hope that further energetic measures would follow."†

From this point of view, the general unfavourable judgment of the religious and moral condition of the Renaissance period may be essentially modified. At all events, as the first German authority on Italian history has lately observed, it is a mistake to suppose from the numerous testimonies of Pagan tendencies furnished by the Italian Humanists, that these were absolutely general.‡ This gifted nation—and this is especially true of Florence, the intellectual home of the Renaissance—still retained its warm religious feeling in the midst of all party struggles, excommunications, and external conflicts. The numerous confraternities of laymen, to which high and low belonged, kept all classes in constant and salutary contact with the Church which had never ceased to be national, as did also the mystery-plays, in which, until the end of the fifteenth century, distinguished poets and poetesses took part.§ Thus the religious dispositions of

* See Burckhardt, *op. cit.*; Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 383 *et seq.*, and Müntz, *La Renaissance*, 20.

† Opinion of Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, *op. cit.*, 379.

‡ Reumont, *Briefe* xxii. See Frantz, Sixtus IV., 55, note. F. Torraca, Roberto da Lecce, *Arch. Stor. Napolit.* 7th year, fasc. 1. Müntz, *La Renaissance*, 13, 23, 103.

§ Reumont, *Briefe* xxiii. Lorenzo, i., 2nd ed., 432. Frantz, Sixtus IV., 128, 237, 238, 243. J. Ciampi, *Le rappresent. sacre del medio evo in Italia* (Roma, 1865). D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresent.*

the people held many things together, which threatened to fall to pieces, and explains much that would otherwise be difficult of solution; it was often very touchingly manifested.* When Gregory XI., the last of the Avignon Popes, laid an interdict upon Florence, crowds of citizens used to assemble in the evenings before the images of the Madonna, at the corners of the streets, and endeavour by their prayers and hymns to make up for the cessation of public worship. Vespasiano da Bisticci, in his life of Eugenius IV., relates that when the Pope, during his sojourn in Florence, blessed the people from a balcony erected in front of the church of Sta. Maria Novella, the whole of the wide square and the adjoining streets resounded with sighs and prayers; it seemed as if our Lord Himself, rather than His Vicar, was speaking. In 1450, when Nicholas V. celebrated the restoration of peace to the Church by the publication of a Jubilee, a general migration to the Eternal city took place; eye-witnesses compared the bands of pilgrims to the flight of starlings, or the march of myriads of ants. In the year 1483 the Sienese consecrated their city to the Mother of God, and in 1495, at the instigation of Savonarola, the Florentines proclaimed Christ their King.†

The magnificent gifts, by which the pomp and dignity of religious worship were maintained, the countless works of Christian art, and the innumerable and admirably organized charitable foundations,‡ also bear testimony to the continuance of "heartfelt piety and ardent faith" in the Italy of the fifteenth century.

Side by side with these evidences of religious feeling in the Italian people, the age of the Renaissance certainly exhibits alarming tokens of moral decay; sensuality and license reigned, especially among the higher classes.§

dei sec., xiv., xv., e xvi. (Firenze, 1872). Cf. K. Hillebrand, *Etud Ital.* (Paris, 1868), and A. Lumini, *Le Sacre Rappresent. Ital. dei sec. xiv., xv. e xvi.* (Palermo, 1877).

* Reumont, Lorenzo, i., 2nd ed., 427. Cf. Capecelatro-Conrad, 166.

† Hettner, 165. See F. Torraca, Jacopo Sannazaro (Napoli, 1879), 129, and Müntz, *La Renaissance*, 10, 14, 15, 20. For the Jubilee of 1450, see Chapter III. of the 3rd book of our present work.

‡ See Woltmann, ii., 136. Frantz, Sixtus IV., 237 *et seq.*, and especially Müntz, *La Renaissance*, 8 *et seq.*, and 74 *et seq.*

§ Cf. *supra*, p. 25

Statistics on this subject, however, are so incomplete, that a certain estimate of the actual moral condition of the age or a trustworthy comparison with later times is impossible.

But if those days were full of failings and sins of every kind, the Church was not wanting in glorious manifestations, through which the source of her higher life revealed itself. Striking contrasts—deep shadows on the one hand, and most consoling gleams of sunshine on the other—are the special characteristics of this period. If the historian of the Church of the fifteenth century meets with many unworthy prelates and bishops, he also meets, in every part of Christendom, with an immense number of men distinguished for their virtue, piety, and learning,* not a few of whom have been by the solemn voice of the Church raised to her altars. Limiting ourselves to the most remarkable individuals, and to the period of which we are about to treat, we will mention only the saints and holy men and women given by Italy to the Church.

The first of this glorious company† is St. Bernardine of Siena, of the Order of Minorites, whose eloquence won for him the titles of trumpet of Heaven and fountain of knowledge, and whom Nicholas V. canonized about the middle of the century. Around him are grouped his holy brothers in religion: Saints John Capistran, Jacopo della Marca, and Catherine of Bologna, a Sister of the same Order († 1463). Among the Blessed of the Franciscan Order are Tommaso Bellaci († 1447), Gabriele Ferretti († 1456), Arcangelo di Calatafimi († 1460), Antonio di Stronconio († 1471), Pacifico di Ceredano († 1482), Pietro di Moliano († 1490), Angelo di Chivasso in Piedmont († 1496), Angelina di Maršciano († 1435), Angela Caterina († 1448), Angela Felice († 1457), Serafina di Pesaro († 1478), Eustochia Calafata († 1491), etc.

The Dominican Order was yet richer in saints and holy

* Delightful pictures of many great Italian Bishops of this period are given by Vespasiano da Bisticci in the third part of his *Vite di uomini illustri* (Mai, Spicil, i., 224 *et seq.*) The mere enumeration of the names would fill up too much of our space.

† Information concerning almost all the above named may be found in Chevalier, Répertoire. See also Moroni, *Dizionario Eccl.* Stadler-Heim, *Heiligen Lexicon*, i.-v. (Augsburg, 1858-1882). A. Weiss, *Vor der Reformation*, 20 *et seq.*, and Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 365 *et seq.*

persons. Blessed Lorenzo da Ripafratta († 1457) laboured in Tuscany, and under his direction the apostolic St. Antoninus († 1459) grew up to be a pattern of self-sacrificing charity, and the glorious talent of Fra Angelico da Fiesole († 1455) soared heavenward, leading men's hearts to the Eternal by the language of art, as the mystics had done by their writings.* St. Antoninus, whose unexampled zeal was displayed in Florence, the very centre of the Renaissance, had for his disciples Blessed Antonio Neyrot of Ripoli († 1460) and Costanzio di Fabriano († 1481). Blessed Giovanni Dominici († 1420) and Pietro Geremia da Palermo († 1452) were celebrated preachers and reformers. Then follow Blessed Antonio ab Ecclesia († 1458), Bartolomeo de Cerveriis († 1466), Matteo Carrieri († 1471), Andrea da Peschiera († 1480), the Apostle of the Valteline, the recently beatified Cristoforo da Milano († 1484), Bernardo Scammaca († 1486), Sebastiano Maggi da Brescia († 1494), and Giovanni Licci, who died in 1511, at the extraordinary age of one hundred and fifteen. The Dominicaness, Chiara Gambacorti († 1420), had held communication with the greatest saint of the later mediæval period, St. Catherine of Siena; and, together with Princess Margaret of Savoy († 1407), also a Dominicaness, was subsequently beatified.† In the Order of St. Augustine we have to mention the following who have been beatified:—Andrea, who died at Montereale in 1479, Antonio Turriani († 1494), Rita of Cascia († 1456), Cristina Visconti († 1458), Elena Valentino du Udine († 1458), and Caterina da Pallanza († 1478). Blessed Angelo Mazzinghi de Agostino († 1438) belonged to the Carmelite Order; that of the Gesuati had Giovanni Travelli da Tossignano († 1446), the Celestines, Giovanni Bassand († 1455); and the Regular Canons the Holy Patriarch of Venice, St. Lorenzo Giustiniani († 1456). Blessed Angelo Masaccio († 1458) was of the Camaldolese Order, and finally the great Cardinal Bishop of Bologna, Albergati († 1443), was a Carthusian. St. Frances († 1440), the foundress of the Oblates, was working in Rome. The

* Frantz, Sixtus IV., 54. See Marchese, Scritti, ii., 233-261, on Lorenzo da Ripafratta.

† See Reumont, Briefe, 77 *et seq.*, who observes that another member of the Gambacorti family was beatified, viz., Pietro († 1435), founder of the Congregation of Hieronymites, which founded Sant Onofrio in Rome.

labours of another founder, St. Francis of Paula (born 1416, † 1507), belong in part to the period before us. These names, to which many more might easily be added, furnish the most striking proof of the vitality of religion in Italy at the time of the Renaissance. Such fruits do not ripen on trees which are decayed and rotten to the core.*

Though it is an error to consider all ranks of Italian society in the fifteenth century as tainted with the spirit of Paganism, we must admit that the baneful element in the Renaissance took fearful hold on the upper classes. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? The seductive doctrines of Epicurus, and the frivolous, worldly wisdom of the Rome of Augustus, were far more attractive than Christian morality. To a pleasure-loving and corrupt generation, the vain mythology of heathenism was infinitely more congenial than the Gospel of a crucified Saviour, and the religion of self-denial and continence. Many ecclesiastical dignitaries also unhappily show undue favour to the false Humanism. Startling as this may at first sight appear, it is by no means difficult to account for it.

In the first place we must consider the wide-spread worldliness among the clergy, which was a result of the Avignon period of the Papacy, and the subsequent confusion of the schism. Secondly, Humanism soon became such a power that a struggle with it under existing circumstances would have been very hazardous. The chief reason, however, that the Church and the false Renaissance did not come into open conflict, was the extreme care taken by almost all the adherents of this school to avoid any collision with the ecclesiastical authorities. The race of dilettanti and free-thinkers looked upon the doctrinal teaching of the Church as a thing quite apart from their sphere. If in their writings they invoked the heathen gods, and advocated the principles of the ancient philosophers, they also took pains from time to time to profess their submission to the Creeds, and were skilful in throwing a veil over the antagonism between the two.† However vigilant the rulers of the Church might be, it was often very hard to determine when this toying with heathenism became really reprehensible.

* Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 367. Many Saints belonging exclusively to the second half of the century are mentioned by him and by A. Weiss, *op. cit.*

† Grenzboten, 1884, No. 21, p. 369. See Gieseler, ii., 4, 504. Schnaase, viii., 2nd ed., 533. Müntz, *La Renaissance*, 15, 16.

The strange medley of heathen and Christian words, ideas, and thoughts, that prevailed in the age of the Renaissance is notorious. The Church authorities were not severe on transgressions of this kind; and as far as literature was concerned, there can be no doubt that their leniency was thoroughly justified. If the Humanists, in their horror of sinning against Ciceronian Latinity, endeavoured to express Christian ideas in antique phrases, the fashion was certainly an absurd, rather than a dangerous, one. "What need," says Voigt, with reason, "to cry out, if a lively orator should introduce a Roman asseveration into his discourse. Who would charge him with polytheism, if, instead of calling on the one God, he should on some occasion say: 'Ye Gods!' Or if a poet, instead of imploring Divine grace, should beg the favour of Apollo and the Muses, who would accuse him of idolatry?"* Accordingly, when Ciriaco of Ancona chose Mercury for his patron saint, and on his departure from Delos addressed a written prayer to him, his contemporaries were not the least scandalized, but contented themselves with laughing at his enthusiasm, and singing of him as "the new Mercury," and "immortal as his Mercury."† The indulgence, which the ecclesiastical authorities showed towards the false Renaissance, is intelligible enough, if we remember that its obviously dangerous tendencies had much to counterbalance them.

From the beginning, the true Christian Renaissance existed side by side with the false.

Its followers were equally enthusiastic in their admiration for the treasures of antiquity, and they recognized in

* *Wiederbelebung*, ii., 2nd ed., 479. See Paulsen, 7, 33, and Müntz, *La Renaissance*, 12. Similar examples are to be found not only in Dante (see Wegele, pp. 498, 501, 522), but also at an earlier date. See F. Piper, *Mythologie der Christl. Kunst*, 2 vols. Here is also mentioned the exaggeration of this fashion in the time of Leo. X., of which we shall speak later on (i., 1, 285 *et seq.*). See also Cantu, i., 189. Burckhardt also points out that the Pedants who latinized everything, are not to be judged too severely. *Cultur*, i., 3rd ed., 292.

† Voigt, *op. cit.*, 2nd ed., 287. Ciriaco's prayer begins: *Artium mentis ingenii facundiæque pater alme Mercuri, viarum itinerum-que optime dux*, etc. O. Jahn publishes it in the *Bull. dell. Inst. di corr. Arch.*, 1861, p. 183. We may here remark that Ghiberti's enthusiasm for the Greeks went so far that he counted time not from the Christian era, but from the Olympiad. Rio, i., 315.

the classics a most perfect means of intellectual culture, but they also clearly perceived the danger attendant on the revival of the old literature, especially under the circumstances of the time. Far from relentlessly sacrificing to heathenism that Christianity, which had permeated the very life of the people, they deemed that safety lay in the conciliation of the new element of culture with its eternal truths; and in this opinion they had the support of Dante, and were in accord with Petrarch's highest aspirations. They were justly alarmed at the radical tendency, which aimed at doing away with all existing sanctions and influences. They saw with dismay that all national and religious traditions were threatened, and that therefore a salutary result from the movement was very doubtful. The programme of these men, the most clear-sighted and sober-minded of the Humanists, was the maintenance of religious and national traditions, the study of the ancients in a Christian and national spirit, the reconciliation of the Renaissance with Christianity.*

The chief representatives of the Christian Renaissance were Giannozzo Manetti, Ambrogio Traversari, Lionardo Bruni, Gregorio Carraro, Francesco Barbaro, Maffeo Vegio, Vittorino da Feltre, and Tommaso Parentucelli, afterwards known as Pope Nicholas V.

Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459), the friend of Pope Eugenius IV. and Pope Nicholas V., was most deeply convinced of the truth of the Christian Religion. This noble-minded and distinguished scholar† used to say that the Christian Faith is no mere opinion, but an absolute certainty, that the teaching of the Church is as true as an axiom in mathematics. However much occupied Manetti might be, he never went to work without first having heard Mass. He placed all his learning at the service of the Church, and although a layman, was well versed in theology and literature, and translated the New Testament and the Psalms. He had studied three books so indefatigably, that he may be almost said to have known them by heart; these were the Epistles of St. Paul, St. Augustine's City of God, and the Ethics of Aristotle. Manetti was the

* See Janitschek, 14-15. Burckhardt, *Cultur*, ii., 3rd ed., 271. Norrenberg, ii., 13. Villari, i., 109 *et seq.*, and Müntz, *La Renaissance*, 16, 17, 91.

† Burckhardt, *Cultur*, i., 3rd ed., 261.

first, and, for a long time, the only Humanist in Italy, who turned his attention to the Oriental languages. To defend the cause of Christian truth, he learned Hebrew and began to write a work against the Jews, whom he meant to combat with their own weapons. This great scholar was a man of exemplary life; his friend and biographer, Vespasiano da Bisticci, affirms that, during an intercourse of forty years, he had never heard an untruth, an oath, nor a curse, from his lips.*

Manetti's teacher was the pious Ambrogio Traversari, General of the Camaldolese Order from 1431, a man whom the Protestant historian, Meiners,† declares to have been a model of purity and holiness; a superior, admirable for his strictness and prudent gentleness; an author of great industry and learning, and an ambassador whose talents, courage, and statesmanship won for him a high position amongst the most distinguished of his contemporaries. This eminent scholar was the first to introduce Humanist influences into the ecclesiastical sphere. A mixed assembly of clerics and laymen, the *élite* of the Florentine literary world, used to meet in his convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli, to hear him lecture on the Greek and Latin languages and literature, and explain philosophical and theological questions. The biographer of Lorenzo de' Medici speaks enthusiastically of those days when a brilliant intellectual radiance shone forth from this convent, enlightening the dwellings of the Florentine patricians and, through them, the whole world. "Never," he says, "was there seen among clerics and laymen so much real and solid learning devoted to the Church and State, while also ministering to the charm of daily life and the promotion of good morals." Tommaso Parentucelli, who had witnessed this Florentine literary life, which, although not faultless, was on the whole so rich and noble, was unable, even when he had attained the highest dignity in Christendom,‡ to create in Rome anything that could compare with it.

* Naldo Naldi wrote a very full Latin biography of Manetti; see Muratori, Script. xx., 520-608. See Galletti, 129-138, and Vespasiano da Bisticci, Commentario della vita di G.M., ed., Fanfani (Turin, 1862).

† Meiners, ii., 279-280.

‡ Reumont, Briefe heiliger Italiener, 109, 110, and Lorenzo de' Medici, i., 2nd ed., 388.

Traversari's unceasing labours in the reform of his Order, and all the harassing toils attendant on his office as Papal Envoy, never interfered with his interest in Greek and Roman literature. Notwithstanding the heavy pressure of necessary business, he contrived to find time to ransack libraries for rare manuscripts and copy them, to visit literary celebrities, to investigate ecclesiastical and heathen antiquities, and by various letters to promote the study of science. His learned works relate chiefly to the Greek writers of the Church, and he was undoubtedly the first authority on the subject and the possessor of the richest collection of books.* In his scrupulous conscientiousness, Traversari thought the translation of profane authors unsuitable to his office. Nevertheless, at the request of his friend, Cosmo de' Medici, he consented to translate Diogenes Laertes on the Lives of the Philosophers, consoling himself with the thought that this work might serve the interests of the Christian religion, "inasmuch as when the doctrines of the heathen philosophy are better known, the superiority of Christianity will be the more clearly understood."

The celebrated Lionardo Bruni (1369-1444), Apostolic Secretary under Innocent VII., Gregory XII., Alexander V., and John XXIII., and afterwards Chancellor of the Republic of Florence, was also sincerely attached to the Church. His love for the classical did not hinder him from recommending "sacred studies," which, from their very nature, must be the sweetest of "sweet toils." What a contrast there is between Valla and this good man, who, though not himself a monk, esteemed the religious life, and refused to support a monk who wished to leave his convent.† Bruni was greatly looked up to, and people came from all parts to see him; a Spaniard even went so far as to fall on his knees before him. When this noble scholar departed this life on the 9th March, 1444, the Priors deter-

* This is the opinion of Voigt, i., 2nd ed., 321, who cannot be accused of any special preference for Traversari. See Piper, *Monument. Theolog.*, 663, Note 3. With reference to Traversari as an archæologist, see also Müntz, *Précurseurs*, 113 *et seq.*, and as a jurist, Savigny, vi., 422 *et seq.*

† Geiger, *Renaissance*, 101. See Monsani in *Arch. Stor. Ital.* Serie ii., v., i., 29-59; 2, 3-35, and Gherardi, *ibid.* Serie iv., xv., 416-421.

mined to pay him extraordinary honour; his corpse was clad in dark silk, and on his breast lay the History of Florence, as the richest gift of the Chancellor to the Republic. Manetti pronounced the funeral oration, and crowned the dead with the laurel of the poet and the scholar, "as an immortal testimony to his wonderful wisdom and his surpassing eloquence." He was then buried in Santa Croce, where an epitaph composed by Marsuppini, and a monument sculptured by Bernardo Rossellino, mark his resting place.*

Among the Christian Humanists we must reckon Gregorio Corraro, the highly cultured kinsman of Pope Gregory XII., and Francesco Barbaro, who, like him, belonged to a patrician family of Venice.† Barbaro enjoyed the friendship of almost all the learned Italians of his day, and was, by family tradition and personal feeling, devoted to the cause of the Church. In the negotiations with the Councils of Basle and of Florence he sought, with equal zeal, to promote the interests of the Papal power, and to provide for the spiritual wants of his clients. He furnishes a remarkable example of the union of the Humanist and ecclesiastical tendencies in an age when the latter had begun to lose its power.‡

Maffeo Vegio (1407-1458), the worthy explorer of the ancient Christian monuments of Rome, must not be passed

* Voigt, i., 2nd ed., 314 *et seq.* Bruni's monument is the most important of Rossellino's works. The lower part and the figure are of rare grandeur and beauty. Burckhardt, Cicerone, ii., 4th ed., 365, 366. See Müntz, Précurseurs, 75-90. Vegio and Guarino also composed epitaphs for Bruni. Vegio's* "Epitaphion" is as follows:—

Hoc Aretini Leonardi tecta sepulchro
Quo nemo eloquio clarior, ossa cubant.
Heu quantum damni tali tibi lumine raptō
Et græca et pariter lingua latina facis.
At vivit cuius æternum scripta legentur
Æternum cuius fama superstes erit:
Quam teris longe celebratam extenderat usque
Ad summos quos nunc incolit ipse polos.

—Cod. 5552, f. 39b, the Court Library in Vienna.

† Respecting Barbaro, see Agostini, Scritt. Venez., ii., 37 *et seq.* Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 423 *et seq.* With regard to Barbaro's letters, published by Sabbadini, see Willmans' learned criticism in the Gött. Gel. Anz., 1884, 849-885. Reumont, Beiträge, iv., 229-356, has a beautiful essay on Gregorio Corraro.

‡ Willmans, *loc. cit.*, 850.

over. That "tender and eloquent book," the Confessions of St. Augustine, made a deep impression on his mind, as also on that of Petrarch. It brought about Vegio's complete conversion, and induced him to devote himself entirely to ecclesiastical literature. Without transcribing the splendid list of his works, we must mention his widely-read book on Education, inasmuch as it represents an endeavour to combine the wisdom of the Classics with the Bible and the teaching of the Church. He strongly recommends the work of Virgil, Sallust, and Quintilian, as means of culture, but objects to the Elegiacs on account of their indecency, and would have the comic authors reserved for the perusal of grown-up men.* In the time of Eugenius IV., Vegio came to Rome, where he filled the offices of Datary, Abbreviator, and Canon of St. Peter's, and finally became an Augustinian Canon. He died in 1458, and was buried in Sant Agostino, in the very chapel where, thanks to his efforts, the bones of St. Monica had found a fitting place of rest, when brought from Ostia in 1430. Vegio's pure life and piety were honoured beyond the limits of his own order. An enthusiastic notice of him is to be found among the writings of the Florentine Vespasiano da Bisticci.†

The most attractive and amiable of the representatives of the Christian Renaissance is Vittorino da Feltre, the greatest Italian Pedagogue of his age. "He was one of those men who devote their whole being to the end for which their capacities and knowledge specially fit them."‡

* Voigt. *Wiederbelebung*, ii., 2nd ed., 466-467. Kämmler, in Schmid's *Encyklopädie des Erziehungs und Unterrichtswesens* (Gotha, 1873), ix., 656 *et seq.*

† Voigt, *loc. cit.*, 42. Mai, *Spicil.* i., 653-655. See Schweminski, P. P. Vergerius and M. Vegius (Posen, 1858, Programm). We shall speak of Vegio's work on St. Peter's, which marks the beginning of Christian Archæological literature, when we come to the time of Nicholas V. See Geiger, *Vierteljahrschr. für Cultur und Literatur der Renaissance* (1885), i., 199-201.

‡ So says Burckhardt, *Cultur*, i., 3rd ed., 255, who, in a few strokes of the pen, has drawn an excellent picture of this admirable man. See Geiger, *Renaissance*, 171. Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i., 2nd ed., 537 *et seq.* Raumer, i., 2nd ed., 33 *et seq.* Kämmler in Schmid's *loc. cit.*, ix., 722 *et seq.* The valuable monograph of Rosmini, *Idea dell' ottimo precettore ecc. Le Nottzie stor. int. a. studio pubbl. ed ai maestri dei s. xv. e xvi. che tennero scuola in*

The honour of having introduced this excellent man "to his proper sphere of work" belongs to the Marquess Gian Francesco Gonzaga, who summoned him to Mantua in 1425, to take charge of the education of his children and direct the court school. Vittorino began his labours by a thorough cleansing of the Casa Giocosa, the new educational Institution, which was pleasantly situated on the borders of the lake of Mantua.* At his command the gold and silver plate, the superfluous servants, vanished, and order and noble simplicity took the place of pomp and show. The hours of study were punctually observed, but they were constantly varied by bodily exercise and recreation in the open air. Vittorino encouraged his pupils to expose themselves to cold and heat, to wind and rain, for he believed that a soft and idle life was the origin of many maladies; but there was nothing of Spartan harshness in the education, and individual idiosyncrasies were sufficiently respected.† In the fine season he used to take his pupils on long excursions to Verona, to the Lake of Garda, and into the Alps. In regard to decency and good manners, Vittorino was rigid; swearing and blasphemy were always punished, even if the offender were one of the Princes. Corporal punishments were reserved for the worst cases; in general the penalties inflicted were of the nature of disgrace. The moral and religious conduct of the scholars was most carefully watched over, for Vittorino held that true learning is inseparable from religion and virtue. A bad man, he used to say, can never be a perfect scholar, far less a good orator.

His method of teaching was simple and concise; he guarded carefully against the evil subtleties of the day. "I want to teach them to think," he said, "not to split hairs." The classics naturally formed the groundwork of higher education, but with a careful selection fitted for the young.‡ Mathematical Science, Logic, and Metaphysics,

Mantova, tratte dall' archivio stor. Gonzaga di M. per St. Davari (Mantova, 1876), and A. Morlet, *Vict. de Feltre et la Maison Joyeuse, ou un lycée modèle au xv. siècle en Italie* (Le Havre, 1880).

* Regarding the Casa Giocosa, see Rosmini, *loc. cit.*, 72. Davari, *loc. cit.*, 20, and Paglia's essay in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, 1883, xi., fasc. i.

† Kämmerel, 725. See Rosmini, 81 *et seq.*, 144 *et seq.*

‡ Voigt, i., 2nd ed., 545, says that Vittorino's judgment and prudent selection must meet with approval even in the present day.

were not neglected ; special attention was devoted to composition, and every encouragement given to originality. Vittorino was always ready to help those, who were backward in their studies. Early in the morning he was among his scholars, and when all around had betaken themselves to rest, he worked on with individual boys. "Probably," to use the words of a modern author, "the world had never before seen such a schoolmaster, who was content to be a schoolmaster and nothing else, because in this calling he recognized a lofty mission; one who, just because he sought nothing great for himself, found all the richer reward in the results of his labour."* When a monk asked permission from Pope Eugenius IV. to enter Vittorino's Institution, the Pontiff answered, "Go, my son. We willingly give you up to the most holy of living men."†

Vittorino's fame was widely spread; eager disciples flocked around him from far and near, even from France, Germany, and the Netherlands.‡ Many of these youths were poor, and such were received by the good man with particular affection; they were not only freely instructed, but also fed, lodged, clothed, and provided with books at his expense, and his generosity often extended even to their families. For these scholars, whom he received for the love of God (*per l'amore di Dio*), he founded a special institution in association with the Princes' School. Here he lived like a father in his family, giving to it all he possessed, for his own wants were very easily satisfied.§ It is no wonder that the scholars looked up to such a master with love and respect. Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, one of the noblest among them, a man distinguished by his courage, cultivation, and large-mindedness, placed Vittorino's portrait in his palace with the inscription: "In honour of his saintly master, Vittorino da Feltre, who by word and example instructed him in all human excellence, Federigo places this here."||

The secret of this great schoolmaster's immense influence is to be found principally in his religious and

* Kämmler, *loc. cit.*, 725.

† Rosmini, 200. Raumer, i., 2nd ed., 34.

‡ For the story of a Carthusian from the Netherlands, who went to Mantua to study the science of music under Vittorino, see Ambros, *Gesch. der Musik*, ii., 2nd ed., 486.

§ Voigt, i., 2nd ed., 540.

|| Rosmini, 362.

moral qualities, his disinterestedness, his humility and simplicity, and the charm of his virginal purity.* All his contemporaries speak with respect of his piety. Vespasiano da Bisticci says that "he daily recited the Divine Office like a priest; he strictly observed the Fasts of the Church, and insisted on his scholars doing the same. He said grace before and after meals like a priest, constantly approached the sacraments, and accustomed his scholars to go monthly to confession to the Observantine Fathers. He also wished them to hear Holy Mass every day; his house was a very sanctuary of good morals."† Vittorino's example shows that a good man may be immersed in classical studies, without making shipwreck of his faith. His liberality equalled his piety; no monk or beggar, who sought his aid, was sent empty away. Notwithstanding his unremitting labours as a teacher and educator, he always found time to visit widows and orphans, the poor, the sick, and even prisoners, and wherever he went, he bore with him comfort, instruction, and help. It was said of him, that the only people who received nothing from him were those, whose needs were unknown to him. Almsgiving on so large a scale would not have been possible, but for the generous support of the Marquess of Mantua and some of his wealthy scholars. All that he received from them was given away to alleviate the sufferings of his fellow men. When he died on the 2nd February, 1446, at the age of sixty-nine, his property was so deeply in debt, that his heirs declined the inheritance, and the corpse had to be buried at the Prince's expense. He left instructions that no monument should be raised to his memory.‡

The position occupied by the representatives of the Christian Renaissance in relation to the ancient world was the only true one, and they have in some degree solved the problem how justly to appreciate antiquity.

* Era di lui opinione, oltre alla continenza che noi abbiamo detto, che fusse vergine. Vespasiano da Bisticci in Mai, i., 641.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, *loc. cit.*

‡ Rosmini, 164 *et seq.*, 236 *et seq.* A medal by Pisanello was struck in memory of Vittorino, with the inscription: "Victorinus Feltren-summus mathematicus et omnis humanitatis pater." See Friedländer, *Schaumünzen in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kuntsamml.*, i., 101. A monument to Vittorino was erected at Feltre, in 1868, with the inscription: "To Vittorino, the Prince of Educators."

Their enthusiasm for the intellectual treasures of the past never went so far as to endanger their devotion to the Christian religion. Unlike the extreme Humanists, they held fast the principle, that the works of the heathens are to be judged by a Christian standard. They saw the danger of so idealizing the moral and religious teaching of Heathenism, as to make it appear that by its means alone the highest end of life could be attained, thus ignoring the necessity of Christian doctrines and morality, of remission of sin and grace from on high.*

In the light of Christianity alone can the ancient world be fully and justly estimated, for the pagan ideal of humanity, as exhibited in its heroes and divinities, is not, as a modern philosopher† justly observes, a full or complete one. It is but a shadowy outline, wanting the colour and life which something higher must supply—a fragmentary form, which has yet to find its complement in a more perfect whole. This higher Image of human perfection is the Incarnate Son of God, the Prototype of all creatures; no creation of fancy or product of human reason, but the Truth and the Life Itself. The ideals of Greece grow pale before this Form, and only vanity and folly could ever turn from It to them. This folly was perpetrated by the adherents of the false Renaissance, by those Humanists who, instead of ascending from the Greek Poets and Philosophers to Christ, turned their backs on the glory of Christianity to borrow their ideal from the genius of Greece.

The twofold character of the Italian Renaissance renders it extremely difficult justly to weigh its good and evil in relation to the Church and to religion. A sweeping judgment in such cases would generally be a rash one, even were the notices of the individuals concerned less scanty than those which are before us; here, as elsewhere, human penetration is baffled in the endeavour to appreciate all its bearings.‡

A modern Historian has forcibly remarked that every genuine advance of knowledge must in itself be of advantage to religion and to the Church, inasmuch as Truth, Science, and Art are alike daughters of heaven.§ From

* See *Katholik*, 1855, p. 193-211, 252-259.

† Haffner, *Renaissance*, 18.

‡ Burckhardt has written in strong language regarding the moral condition of this period (ii., 3rd ed., 199).

§ Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 323.

this point of view we must contemplate the encouragement given by ecclesiastics to the revival of classical literature. A distinction should evidently here be drawn between the two schools of the Renaissance, and judgment pronounced accordingly. Those members of the Church, who promoted the heathen view, acted wrongly, and were, if we look at their conduct with a view to the interests of the Church, blameworthy. Impartial inquiry will, however, lead us to temper this blame by a consideration of all the attendant circumstances, and to bear in mind the difficulty of avoiding the abuse, to which the ancient literature, like all other good things of the intellect, is liable.

The common impression that the dangerous tendencies of the Renaissance were not recognized by the Church is very erroneous. On the contrary, from the beginning, men were never wanting, who raised their voices against the deadly poison of the false Humanism. One of the first in Italy to indicate its pernicious influence on education was the Dominican Giovanni Dominici. This preacher, who laboured ardently for the reformation of his Order, enjoyed the favour of Pope Innocent VII., and was raised to the purple by Gregory XII.* In his celebrated Treatise on the order and discipline of Family Life, written very early in the 15th century, he denounces, with all the energy of his ardent nature, the system "which lets youth and even childhood become heathen rather than Christian; which teaches the names of Jupiter and Saturn, of Venus and Cybele rather than those of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; which poisons minds that are still tender and powerless by sacrifice to the false Gods, and brings up wayward nature in the lap of unbelief."†

In yet stronger terms does Giovanni Dominici express

* For a further account of this zealous man, who died at Buda, June 10th, 1419, aged 64, on a diplomatic mission, see Act Sanct. Junius, ii., 396 *et seq.* Echard, i., 768 *et seq.* Fabricius-Mansi, ii., 468, 469; iii., 358. Marchese, Scritti, i., 2nd ed., 34 *et seq.* Salvi, vi.-lvi., and Rattinger in the Hist. Jahrbuch v., 168. * I have seen *Sermones de sanctis et de tempore*, by G. Dominici, in Cod. xi.-68 of the Barberini Library in Rome. The date of 1420, which has been repeatedly given as his death, is erroneous; see the authentic testimony of * the Acta Consistor., in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican; see Appendix, Nr. 16.

† Salvi, 135, 136. See Reumont, Kl. Schriften, 16 *et seq.*

himself in a writing* which has but recently been brought to light, and which is dedicated in courteous language to the celebrated Chancellor of Florence, Coluccio Salutato. Its primary object was to warn him against being seduced by the charms of the false Renaissance; but at the same time, it aimed at protecting youth in general from the questionable elements contained in the classic literature, and at counteracting its perversion and misuse. The Dominican condemns those, who give themselves up with blind and deluded zeal to heathen learning, and are thus led to depreciate the Christian Religion. Looking at the subject from an ascetic point of view, he is at times blind to the ancient literature. In his horror at the new heathenism, which was rising before his eyes, he is even betrayed into the utterance of such paradoxes as, that it is more useful to a Christian to plough the ground than to study the heathen authors!† Exaggerations of this kind provoked exaggerations from the opposite party, and in this way it became more and more difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to arrive at a clear understanding in regard to the proper use of the ancient classics.

The Franciscans, as well as the Dominicans, distinguished themselves by their opposition to the Humanists, or Poets, to use the name by which they were commonly called.‡ It

* *Lucula noctis Di. Jo. Dominici cardinal S. Sixti*, now in the Laurentian Library in Florence, with the Signature: 174 sop. la porta. Conv. sopp. 549 [Sta Maria Novella, 338] *et seq.* 17-128b. This MS. was long supposed to be lost; see Salvi, lxi., and Wesselofsky, i., 2, 11. Anziani found it again, Janitschek (105) made use of it; see also Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i., 2nd ed., 207, Note 5. Another MS. of the *Lucula*, 141 pages, with coloured Initials, was sold by the Florentine Antiquarian Franchi (see his *Catalogo*, No. 47, p. 57) for £130 to Signor Andrea Nizzi.

† *Utilius est christianis terram arare quam gentilium intendere libris*. Strangely enough Dominici appeals to the authority of the heathen Cicero, in his praise of Husbandry, to support this proposition and others of a similar kind (p. 79 of the above noted MSS. of the Laurentian Library).

‡ Hettner (99 *et seq.*), in his treatise "Ueber die Kunst der Dominicaner im 14 und 15 Jahrhundert," has shown that the Dominicans were the constant and watchful guardians of the strictest ecclesiastical feeling, in opposition to the secularization of the Renaissance art; see what is said under the head of Fra Angelico da Fiesole. Other instances will be brought forward when we come to write of Savonarola. Much interesting information is

cannot be denied that most of these men were full of holy zeal for the interests of Christianity, and that their courageous efforts were of real advantage to the Church, at a time when many other dignitaries, from a spirit of worldliness, favoured the false Humanist tendencies. Still, it is much to be regretted that the majority of the opponents of the Poets went a great deal too far. Correctly to understand the position, we must bear in mind the furious attacks on the Religious Orders and their scholastic teaching by Poggio, Filelfo, and other elegant and well-known Humanist authors. The new movement had gained strength so fast, that the monks were left almost defenceless against the ribaldry of these men. Further, the alarming errors and excesses of the extreme admirers of antiquity justified the worst apprehensions for the future. Consequently, most of those, who withstood the false Renaissance, lost sight of the fact that these errors had their origin, not in the revival of classical studies, but in their abuse, and in the deplorable social, political, and ecclesiastical conditions of the times. Corrupt intellectual elements, struggling for complete emancipation, had gathered round the banner of the Renaissance, and they often led the great Humanist movement into crooked paths. Thus it came to pass, that the larger number of the monks, in their zeal, overlooked the distinction between the true and the false Renaissance, and made Humanism in general responsible for the excesses of the most extreme of its votaries. Against such attacks the Humanists could most justly appeal to the works of St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Cyprian, and other Fathers of the Church, which are full of quotations from the Poets and of classical reminiscences. The monks often waged war in a very unskilful manner, as, for instance, when they treated Valla's attacks on Priscianus and the mediæval grammarians as heretical.*

given in the *Memorie* of P. Marchese; many erroneous conclusions of Hettner's are corrected in the *Essay: Renaissance und die Dominicanerkunst. Histor-polit. Blätter* xciii., 879 *et seq.*; xciv., 26 *et seq.*

* See Vahlen, Valla, 213 *et seq.*, and Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i., 2nd ed., 476 *et seq.* If we may believe Salutato, there were, in his time, foolish Theologians, who despised St. Augustine's work on the City of God, because in it he had quoted Virgil and other Poets! Mehus, *Vita Trav.* 293. The struggles of the Italian Humanists

The partial and short-sighted view, which condemned the whole Renaissance movement as dangerous to faith and morals, cannot be considered as that of the Church. At this time, as throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, she showed herself to be the Patroness of all wholesome intellectual progress, the Protectress of all true culture and civilization. She accorded the greatest possible liberty to the adherents of the Renaissance, a liberty which can hardly be comprehended by an age, which has lost the unity of the Faith.* Once only in the period of which we are about to treat, did the Head of the Church directly attack the false Renaissance, and this censure was called forth by a shameless eulogy of heathen vices, which the Pope, as the chief guardian of morals, could not pass over in silence.†

Otherwise the Church gave liberal encouragement to Humanist studies, fully endorsing the beautiful words of Clement of Alexandria, that the learning of the heathens, as far as it contains good, is not to be considered heathen, but a gift of God.‡ And, indeed, the speedy degeneracy of the Renaissance in Italy was not the fault of the ancient literature, but rather of its abuse.§ That the many irreconcilable enemies of the Renaissance, who are to be found in the Religious Orders, are not the true representatives of the Church, is evident from the fact that the greater number of the Popes adopted a very different attitude towards the new movement.||

with the Religious Orders have yet to be thoroughly treated; Burckhardt and Voigt have here done comparatively little. Voigt lays much stress on the irritation which the Humanists provoked in the Theologians; see i., 2nd ed., 521.

* See Körting, ii., 366, 660. Nowhere was greater intellectual liberty enjoyed than in the Eternal City. "Et quod maximi omnium faciendum videtur mihi, *incredibilis quedam hic libertas est*," wrote Filelfo from Rome in 1475. Rosmini, *Vita di Filelfo* (Milan, 1808), ii., 388. As to the reproofs to which the Popes, e.g., Sixtus IV., submitted in their own Chapel, see Burckhardt, *Cultur*, ii., 3rd ed., 244.

† See *supra*, p. 24. Regarding the measures taken by Paul II. against the Roman Academy we shall treat further on.

‡ Clemens Alex., *Stromata*, i., 4; πάντων γὰρ αἴτιος τῶν καλῶν ὁ θεός.

§ F. von Schlegel, *Sämmtl. Werke*, 2nd ed., Vienna, 1846, ii., 15, has pointed this out.

|| St. Antoninus, the great Archbishop of Florence, also eschewed the violence of the antagonists of the Poets. "From the high

The friendly relations which existed between the Popes and the two founders of the Renaissance literature, Petrarch and Boccaccio, have already been mentioned; these relations were not impaired by the passionate language, used by these two great writers in denouncing the corruptions which had made their way into ecclesiastical affairs during the Avignon period. No less than five times was Petrarch invited to fill the office of Apostolic Secretary, but the poet could not make up his mind to undertake the charge, fearing that it would compel him to give up literature, his special vocation.* But he gladly employed himself, at the desire of the learned Pope Clement VI., in the collection of early manuscripts of Cicero's works for the Papal Library.† When the tidings of the death of Petrarch, whom he had once invited to Avignon by an autograph letter, reached Pope Gregory XI., he commissioned Guillaume de Noellet, Cardinal Vicar of the Church in Italy, to make diligent inquiries after his writings and to have good copies made for him, especially of the *Africa*, the *Eclogues*, *Epistles*, *Invectives*, and the beautiful work, *On the Solitary Life*.‡

Gregory XI., whom a modern writer has justly characterized as the best of the Avignon Popes,§ showed a notable interest in the half-forgotten heritage from the ancient world. When he heard that a copy of Pompeius Trogus had been discovered at Vercelli, he at once sent a letter to the Bishop of that city, desiring him immediately to look after this book and to have it conveyed to the Papal Court by a trusty messenger. A few days later the same Pope charged a Canon of Paris to make researches

watch-tower of the Faith," says Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i., 2nd ed., 382 *et seq.*, "he looks mildly down on the heathen, on whom the light had not yet arisen. He is by no means unacquainted with the classical literature, he has no horror of its heathen nature, indeed, he occasionally inserts an appropriate verse from Ovid in a letter." His opposition to the heathenish tendencies of Humanism was so moderate that all Humanists spoke of him with respect.

* Hörting, i., 200.

† Mehus, *Vita Trav.*, 216.

‡ The remarkable Brief of Gregory XI., dated 1374, Aug. 11, is printed by Meneghelli, *Opere* (Padova, 1831), vi., 198, and Theiner *Cod.*, ii., 559-560. See Marini, *Archiatry*, ii., 21, n. 2.

§ Höfler, in the *Sitzungsberichten der Wiener Akad-Histor-phil*, Cl. lxv., 813.

in the Sorbonne Library regarding several works of Cicero's, to have them transcribed as soon as possible by competent persons and to send the copies to him at Avignon.* It might, at first sight, have seemed likely that the storms which burst over the Papacy after the death of Gregory XI. would have deterred the Popes from showing favour to the Renaissance, which was now asserting its power in the realm of literature, and yet it was actually at this very period that a great number of the Humanists found admission into the Roman Court.†

A closer study of this time, in connection with which the previous years of the residence of the Popes at Avignon must also be considered, will bring to light the causes of the gradual and, in some respects, hazardous influx of Humanism into the Papal Court. A review of the History of the Popes from the beginning of the Exile to Avignon until the end of the great Schism seems all the more necessary, as without an intimate acquaintance with this period of peril to the Papacy, the latter course of events cannot be understood.

In the progress of the following work we shall show that the Renaissance gradually took root in Rome under Martin V. and Eugenius IV.; that Albergati, Cesarini, and Capranica, the most distinguished among the wearers of the purple in the fifteenth century, encouraged Humanism in its best tendencies; that the sojourn of Eugenius IV. in Florence, and the General Council held there, produced marked effects in the same direction; until at last, in the person of Nicholas V., a man mounted the Throne of St. Peter, who, full of confidence in the power of Christian Science,‡ ventured to put himself at the head of this great

* For both these letters, which I found in the Papal private Archives, see Nos. 1 and 2 in the Appendix.

† During the Avignon period we meet with but few Tuscan Humanists in the Papal service. The first of these is Petrarch's friend, Zanobi da Strada, whom Pope Innocent VI. appointed Protonotary and Secretary of Briefs about the end of 1358 or beginning of 1359. Urban V. summoned Francesco Bruni, another friend of Petrarch's, to Avignon about the year 1365. His companion in office was Coluccio Salutato, afterwards distinguished as Chancellor of Florence and an opponent of the French Papacy. See Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i., 2nd ed., 195; ii., 2nd ed., 5-7.

‡ Hübner (i., 47) has drawn particular attention to this point.

intellectual movement. This circumstance was the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Papacy, as well as in that of science and art—an epoch which reached its climax in the reigns of Julius II. and Leo X.

It has often been said that the Renaissance itself ascended the Papal Throne with Nicholas V., yet it must not be forgotten that this great Pontiff was throughout on the side of the genuine and Christian Renaissance. The founder of the Vatican Library, like Fra Angelico whom he employed to paint his study in that Palace, knew how to reconcile his admiration for the intellectual treasures of the past with the claims of the Christian religion: he could honour both Cicero and St. Augustine, and could appreciate the grandeur and beauty of heathen antiquity without being thereby led to forget Christianity.*

The leading idea of Nicholas V. was to make the Capital of Christendom the Capital also of classical literature and the centre of science and art. The realization of this noble project was, however, attended with many difficulties and great dangers. If Nicholas V. overlooked or underestimated the perils which threatened ecclesiastical interests from the side of the heathen and revolutionary Renaissance, this is the only error that can be laid to his charge. His aim was essentially lofty and noble and worthy of the Papacy. The fearlessness of this large-hearted man, in face of the dangers of the movement—"a fearlessness which has in it something imposing"†—strikes us all the more forcibly, when we consider the power and influence which the Renaissance had at this time attained in Italy. The attempt to assume its guidance was a great deed, and one worthy of the successor of the Gregories and Innocents.

To make the promotion of the Renaissance by the Holy See a matter of indiscriminate reproach, betrays total ignorance of the subject. For, deep and widespread as was the intellectual movement, excited by the resuscitation of the antique, it involved no serious danger to Christian civilization, but rather was an occasion of new activity and energy, as long as the unity and purity of the Christian

* Müntz, *Précurseurs*, 101; *cf.* p. 145. Hübner, *loc cit.*

† Burckhardt, *Cultur*, i., 3rd ed., 265; he adds: "Nicholas V. was at ease regarding the fate of the Church, because thousands of learned men stood by her side ready to help her."

faith were maintained unimpaired under the authority of the Church and her head.* If in later days, in consequence of the undue influence obtained by the heathen Renaissance, a very different development ensued; if the intellectual wealth, won by the revived study of the past, was turned to evil purposes, Nicholas V., whose motives were of the highest and purest, cannot be held responsible. On the contrary, it is to the glory of the Papacy that, even in regard to the great Renaissance movement, it manifested that magnanimous and all-embracing comprehensiveness which is a portion of its inheritance.† As long as dogma was untouched, Nicholas V. and his like-minded successors allowed the movement the most ample scope; the founder of the Vatican Library had no foreboding of the mischief which the satire of the Humanists was preparing. The whole tenor of his pure life testifies that his words proceeded from an upright heart, when he earnestly exhorted the Cardinals assembled around his death-bed to follow the path he had chosen in labouring for the welfare of the Church—the Bark of Peter, which, by the wonderful guidance of God, has ever been delivered out of all storms.‡

* Haffner, *Grundlinien*, 691. Hergenröther speaks in similar terms: “The new tendency was in itself by no means prejudicial, but rather favourable to the Church.” See further Beissel, in the *Laacher Stimmen*, xviii., 471 *et seq.*, and Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 323.

† This was the case also in the sixteenth century; see Reumont V. Colonna (Freiburg, 1881), 125.

‡ Mai, *Spicil.*, i., 60. Hettner, 169.

BOOK I.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE POPES FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE EXILE AT AVIGNON TO THE END OF THE GREAT SCHISM, 1305-1417.

I. THE POPES AT AVIGNON. 1305-1376.

THE disastrous struggle between the highest powers of Christendom, which began in the eleventh century and reached its climax in the thirteenth, was decided, apparently to the advantage of the Papacy, by the tragical downfall of the house of Hohenstaufen. But the overthrow of the Empire also shook the temporal position of the Popes, who were now more and more compelled to ally themselves closely with France. In the warfare with the Emperors, the Papacy had already sought protection and had found refuge in that kingdom in critical times. The sojourn of the Popes in France had, however, been only transitory. The most sacred traditions, and a history going back for more than a thousand years, seemed to have bound the highest ecclesiastical dignity so closely to Italy and to Rome that, in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the idea that a Pope could be crowned anywhere but in the Eternal City, or could fix his residence for the whole duration of his Pontificate out of Italy, would have been looked upon as an impossibility.*

* See E. Renan, *La papauté hors de l'Italie* in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1880), xxxviii., 109.

A change came over this state of things in the time of Clement V. (1305-1314), a native of Gascony. Fearing for the independence of the Ecclesiastical power amid the party struggles by which Italy was torn, and yielding to the influence of Philip the Fair, the strong-handed oppressor of Boniface VIII., he remained in France and never set foot in Rome. His successor, John XXII., also a Gascon, was elected, after prolonged and stormy discussions, in 1316, when the Holy See had been for two years vacant. He took up his permanent abode at Avignon, where he was only separated by the Rhone from the territory of the French King. Clement V. had lived as a guest in the Dominican Monastery at Avignon, but John XXII. set up a magnificent establishment there.* The essential character of that new epoch in the history of the Papacy, which begins with Clement V. and John XXII., consists in the lasting separation from the traditional home of the Holy See and from the Italian soil, which brought the Popes into such pernicious dependence on France and seriously endangered the universal nature of their position.

“O good beginning !

To what a vile conclusion must Thou stoop.”†

The words of the great Italian poet are not exaggerated, for the Avignon Popes, without exception, were all more or less dependent on France. Frenchmen themselves, and surrounded by a College of Cardinals in which the French element predominated, they gave a French character to the government of the Church. This character was at variance with the principle of universality inherent in it and in the Papacy. The Church had always been the representative

* Details on this subject from the Papal exchequer accounts are given by Faucon, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'hist.* (ii., 43 *et seq.*).

† Dante, *Parad.*, xxvii., 59, 60.

of this principle in contradistinction to that of isolated nationalities, and it was the high office of the Pope, as her Supreme Head, to be the common Father of all nations. This universality was in a great degree the secret of the power and influence of the Mediæval Popes.

The migration to France, the creation of a preponderance of French Cardinals, and the consequent election of seven French Popes in succession, necessarily compromised the position of the Papacy in the eyes of the world, creating a suspicion that the highest spiritual power had become the tool of France. This suspicion, though in many cases unfounded, weakened the general confidence in the Head of the Church, and awakened in the other nations a feeling of antagonism to the ecclesiastical authority which had become French. The bonds which united the States of the Church to the Apostolic See were gradually loosened, and the arbitrary proceedings of the Court at Avignon, which was too often swayed by personal and family interests, accelerated the process of dissolution. The worst apprehensions for the future were entertained.*

The dark points of the Avignon period have certainly been greatly exaggerated. The assertion that the Government of the Avignon Popes was wholly ruled by the "will and pleasure of the Kings of France,"† is, in this general sense, unjust. The Popes of those days were not all so weak as Clement V., who submitted the

* Schwab, Gerson, 7. Alvaro Pelayo draws a gloomy picture of the decay in the life of the Church in his work: "*De planctu ecclesiæ*," concluded in 1332. See especially lib. ii., art. 8, 28, 48, and 49 (see Gierke, 55).

† Martens, 130. Similarly Hase, *Kirchengeschichte* (10 ed., 1877), 293, who calls Clement V. and his immediate successors "French Court Bishops." Höfler, who altogether denies the French servitude, goes into the other extreme (*Avignones. Päpste*, 246).

draft of the Bull, by which he called on the Princes of Europe to imprison the Templars, to the French King.* Moreover, even this Pope, the least independent of the fourteenth century Pontiffs, for many years offered a passive resistance to the wishes of France, and a writer, who has thoroughly studied the period, emphatically asserts that only for a few years of the Pontificate of Clement V. was the idea so long associated with the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Popes fully realized.† The extension of this epithet to the whole of the Avignon sojourn is an unfair exaggeration. The eager censors of the dependence into which the Avignon Popes sank, draw attention to the political action of the Holy See during this period so exclusively, that hardly any place is left for its labours in the cause of religion. A very partial picture is thus drawn, wherein the noble efforts of these much-abused Pontiffs for the conversion of heathen nations become almost imperceptible in the dim background. Their labours for the propagation of Christianity in India, China, Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, Barbary, and Morocco have been very imperfectly appreciated.‡ The earliest of the

* Baluze, Vitæ, ii., iii. See Boutaric, *La France sous Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1861), 124 *et seq.* Wenck, 74, 80.

† Wenck, 9. See Boutaric in the *Revue des quest. hist.* xxi., 21.

‡ See on this subject the valuable essays of F. Kunstmann in the *Histor. polit. Blättern*, xxxvi., 865-872; xxxvii., 25-39. 135-153, 225-252; xxxviii., 507-537, 701-719. 793-813; xxxix., 489-507; xlii., 185-206; xliii., 676-681; xlv., 81-111, 177-200. See *Zeitschr. für histor. Theol.*, 1858, p. 288 *et seq.* Tüb. Quartalschr., 1877, p. 330. Külb, *Gesch. der Missionsreisen nach der Mongolei*, 3 vol. (Regensburg, 1860). Heyd, *Levantehandel*, ii., 146 *et seq.*, 149, 174, 197, 220, and S. Ruge, *Gesch. des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* (Berlin, 1881), 71 *et seq.* P. Marcellino da Civezza, in his *Storia delle Missioni Francesc.* (Roma e Prato, 1856-1883), 7 vols., has treated of the Franciscan Missions down to the sixteenth

Avignon Popes, Clement V. and John XXII., gave the greatest attention to Eastern affairs, and were the originators of a series of grand creations, from which the best results were to be expected. Their successors were chiefly occupied in the maintenance and preservation of the works established by the wisdom of their predecessors, yet in the time of Clement VI. an effort was made to extend the sphere of the Church even to the furthest limits of Eastern Asia.* The unwearied assiduity of the Avignon Popes in taking advantage of every favourable event in the East, from the Crimea to China, to promote the spread of Christianity by sending out missions and founding Bishoprics, is all the more admirable because of the great difficulties with which the Papacy was at that time beset.†

A complete estimate of their large-minded labours for the conversion of the heathen, and a thoroughly impartial appreciation of this period, will not be possible until the Regesta of these Popes, preserved in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, have been made accessible to investigation.‡

century. Regarding the solicitude of the Avignon Popes for the Slavs in Servia and Bosnia, see Balan, *Relazioni*, 136 *et seq.*

* See Kunstmann, *loc. cit.*, xxxvi., 870.

† Reumont expresses this opinion in the *Allgem. Zeitung*, 1879, p. 3676.

‡ The publication of the records of the Avignon Popes is one of the great works which Leo XIII. has set on foot. A portion of it has been placed in the hands of the Benedictines of Moravia and Monte-Cassino. The beginning of this important contribution to history has appeared: *Regestum, Clementis papæ V., ex vaticanis archetypis, S.D.N. Leonis XIII. P.M. jussu et munificentia editum* (Romæ, 1885). The Records of Benedict XII. and Clement VI. have recently been investigated by a commission from the Bavarian Government. The French Government has ordered the collection of materials in Rome, relating to the time of Clement VI. Prof. Werunsky has published “*Excerpta ex registris Clementis VI. et*

We shall then obtain an insight into that inner life of Church affairs which held its clear and sure course amidst all external tumults; which, while the Papacy was apparently on the brink of ruin, "did not forget the lonely Christians among the heathens of Morocco and in the camps of the wandering Tartars, and took thought for the eternal salvation of nations still unconverted, as faithfully as for the deliverance of the imperilled Church."*

With the most ample recognition of the worldwide activity of the French Popes, it cannot be denied that the effects of the transfer of the Holy See from its natural and historical home were disastrous. Torn from its proper abode, the Papacy, notwithstanding the individual greatness of some of the Avignon Pontiffs, could not maintain its former dignity. The freedom and independence of the highest tribunal in Christendom, which, according to Innocent III., was bound to protect all rights, was endangered, now that the supreme direction of the Church was so much under the influence of a nation so deeply imbued with its own spirit, and possessing so little of the universal. That France should obtain exclusive possession of the highest spiritual authority was a thing contrary both to the office of the Papacy and the very being of the Church.

This dependence on the power of a Prince, who in former times had often been rebuked by Rome, was in strange contradiction with the supremacy claimed by the Popes. By this subjection and by its worldliness, the Avignon Papacy aroused an opposition which, though it might for a moment be overborne while it leant on the

Innocentie VI., *historiam S.R., Imperii sub. regimina Cardii IV., illust.*, Innsbruck, 1885.

* Pertz, *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, v., 29.

crumbling power of the Empire, yet moved men's minds so deeply that its effects were not effaced for several centuries. Its downfall is most closely connected with this opposition, which was manifested, not only in the bitter accusations of its political and clerical enemies, but even also in the letters of its devoted friend St. Catherine, which are full of entreaties, complaints, and denunciations. The Papal Government, founded as it was on the principle of authority, built up in independence of the Empire, and gaining strength in proportion to the decay of that power, was unable to offer any adequate resistance to this twofold stream of political and religious antagonism. The catastrophe of the great Schism was the immediate consequence of the false position now occupied by the Papacy.*

The disastrous effects produced by the residence of the Popes at Avignon were at first chiefly felt in Italy. Hardly ever has a country fallen into such anarchy as did the Italian peninsula, when bereft of her principle of unity by the unfortunate decision of Clement V. to fix his abode in France. Torn to pieces by irreconcilable parties, the land, which had been fitly termed the garden of Europe, was now a scene of desolation.† It will easily be understood that all Italian hearts were filled with bitter longings, a regret which found voice in continual protests against the Gallicized Papacy. The author of the *Divine Comedy* sharply reproved the "Supreme Pastor of the West"‡ for this alliance between the Papacy and the French monarchy. On the death of Clement V., when the Cardinals assembled in conclave at Carpentras, Dante came forward as the exponent of the public feeling which demanded the return of the Papal Throne to Rome. In a severe

* This is Reumont's view : *Theolog. Literaturblatt*, vi., 663.

† Phillips, iii, 279.

‡ Dante, *Inferno*, xix., 82.

letter addressed to the Italian Cardinals he says: "You, the chiefs of the Church militant, have neglected to guide the chariot of the Bride of the Crucified One along the path so clearly marked out for her. Like that false charioteer Phaeton, you have left the right track, and though it was your office to lead the hosts safely through the wilderness, you have dragged them after you into the abyss. But one remedy now remains: you, who have been the authors of all this confusion, must go forth manfully with one heart and one soul into the fray in defence of the Bride of Christ whose seat is in Rome, of Italy, in short of the whole band of pilgrims on earth. This you must do, and then returning in triumph from the battle-field, on which the eyes of the world are fixed, you shall hear the song 'Glory to God in the Highest;' and the disgrace of the covetous Gascons, striving to rob the Latins of their renown, shall serve as a warning to all future ages."*

Petrarch judges the French Popes with the greatest severity. In theory he condemns every one, worthy or unworthy, who lived at Avignon. No expression is too strong when he speaks of this city, which he compares to the Babylon of the Apocalypse. In one of his poems he calls it "the fountain of anguish, the dwelling-place of wrath, the school of errors, the temple of heresy, once Rome, now the false guilt-laden Babylon, the forge of lies, the horrible prison, the hell upon earth." In a whole series

* Opp. min. di Dante ed. P. Fraticelli (Florence, 1862), iii., 486-494. Wegele, 262-265. The "*Vasconum opprobrium*," as Wegele justly remarks, applies firstly to the party of French Cardinals created by Clement V., and in the second place to France and the French policy. Janus (245) applies the expression also to John XXII., who, at the time when Dante wrote this letter, had not yet been elected!

of letters, which, however, he took care to keep to himself, he pours forth the vials of his wrath on the city, which had drawn the Popes away from sacred Rome. He even uses the peaceful sonnet, in which he had formerly been wont to express only the bliss and the pain of love, to fulminate, like a prophet of the Old Testament, against the doings of the unholy city.* It would be, however, a great mistake to consider his picture of the wickedness of Avignon and the corruption of the Church, painted with true Italian fervour, as strictly trustworthy and accurate. Petrarch here speaks as a poet and as a fiery, enthusiastic, Roman patriot. His judgments are often intemperate and unjust. His own life was not such as to give him the right to come forward as a preacher of morals. Passing over his other failings, we need here only allude to his excessive greed for benefices. This passion has much to do with his bitterness against Avignon and the Papal Court. We are led to suspect that there were many unsuccessful suits.† Petrarch did nothing towards the amendment of this evil world; the work of reformation was in his own case begun very late. He was a dreamer, who contented himself with theories, and in practice eschewed all improvements which demanded any greater effort than that of declamation.‡

* See Geiger, *Petrarca*, 168-169. Gaspari i., 457 *et seq.*, Bartoli 85 *et seq.*, 96 *et seq.*, and *Die Reime des F. Petrarca*, translated and elucidated by K. Kekulé and L. v. Biegeleben (Stuttgart, 1844), i., 220; ii., 181-183.

† Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i., 2nd ed., 104; see 85 *et seq.*, 99 *et seq.* See also Körting, i., 25 *et seq.*, 200, who justly observes (i., 308) that the very man who, towards the Court at Avignon, assumes the attitude of a moralist, found no word of blame for the horrible deeds of the Visconti, but rather flattered them in the basest manner, and even in later days, when he could have spoken without any fear of consequences, uttered no word of disapprobation.

‡ Körting, i., 227. Bartoli, 97 *et seq.* See *supra*, p. 3.

The unmitigated condemnation of the Avignon Popes must have been based in great measure on Petrarch's unjust representations, to which, in later times and without examination, an undue historical importance has been attached. He is often supposed to be a determined adversary of the Papacy; but this is a complete mistake. He never for a moment questioned its divine institution.* We have already said that he was outwardly on the best terms with almost all the Popes of his time, and received from them many favours. They took his frequent and earnest exhortations to leave Avignon and return to desolate Rome as mere poetical rhapsodies, and in fact they were nothing more. If Petrarch himself, though a Roman citizen, kept aloof from Rome; if, though nominally an Italian patriot, he fixed his abode for many years, from motives of convenience, or in quest of preferment, in that very Avignon which he had bitterly reproached the Popes for choosing, and which he had called the most loathsome place in the world, must not the Babylonish poison have eaten deeply into his heart? How much easier it would have been for Petrarch to have returned to Rome than it was for the Popes, fettered as they were by so many political considerations!†

But however much we may question Petrarch's right to find fault with the moral delinquencies of the Court at Avignon; however much we may, in many respects, modify the picture he paints of it, no impartial inquirer can deny that it was pervaded by a deplorable worldliness. For this

* Körtling, i., 407-441; ii., 201.

† This is Voigt's opinion, i., 2nd ed., 65. H. Jacoby, "Die Weltanschauung Petrarca's" (Preuss. Jahrb., 1882, xlix, 570), says: "In the matter of politics Petrarch was a dreamer." Balbo, de l'Epinois (281, 282), Gaspary (i, 421 *et seq.*, 450), and Bartoli, 161, speak in similar terms.

melancholy fact we have testimony more trustworthy than the rhetorical descriptions of the Italian poet.* Yet it must in justice be borne in mind that the influx of thousands of strangers into the little French provincial town, so suddenly raised to the position of capital of the world, had produced all the evils which appertain to densely populated places.† Moreover, even if we are to believe all the angry assertions of contemporaries as to the corruption prevailing in Avignon,‡ evidence is not wanting, on the other hand, of ardent yearnings for a life conformable to the precepts of the Gospel.

Side by side with the profligacy which was the characteristic of the age, and, therefore, prominent in its history, there were still to be found scattered in various places many homes of quiet and devout contemplation. Thence went forth an influence, winning noble souls to a higher ideal of existence, and gently, but perseveringly, striving by means of self-denial and persuasion, to allay the passionate feuds of parties and disentangle their intrigues. As this higher life only manifested itself here and there, history passes it by; it is dealt with in commonplace phrases, judged, or rather misjudged, by the measure of the later movements of the sixteenth century, as if they formed a canon for the historical investigation of all

* See especially the accounts given by Alvaro Pelayo, who was intimately acquainted with the state of affairs at Avignon. In one place (ii., 48) this writer, who was thoroughly attached to the cause of the Papacy, says: "*Lupi sunt dominantes in ecclesia; pascuntur sanguine; anima uniuscuiusque eorum in sanguine est.*" See Dante, *Parad.*, xxvii, 56-59.

† Körting, i., 129.

‡ There can be no doubt, that it is in vain to look for a fair judgment of the Avignon period from most of the Italian Chroniclers. See *Hist. Litt.*, Tom. xxiv., 10, 14, 18, 20, 21.

religious phenomena. At no time were there wanting good and earnest men, who were doing their utmost in their own circle to stem the tide of corruption, and exerting a salutary influence on their age and surroundings. It would be most unjust to the champions of the Papal rights to suppose that, because they maintained the monarchy of the Pope and his right to both swords, they were ready to sanction that which was evil at Avignon, or condone tyrannous abuses. In the highest circles there were men of the ancient stamp with the strictest views of life. Alvaro Pelayo praised the Cardinal Legate Martin, who went to Denmark poor and returned poor, and the Legate Gaufridus who, when sent to Aquitaine, bought his own fish and would not accept even wooden platters. He wished Bishops and Popes not to have smart pages about them, and not to promote undeserving relations. He prayed that all simoniacal practices should be abolished, that the Roman Church should be a mother, not a sovereign, and that the Pope should consider himself not a lord, but a servant, a steward, a labourer. These men, who looked on Louis of Bavaria as a tyrant, were not on that account disposed to give the Pope a free pass. While energetically asserting his rights, and those of the Church and the Bishops, they also insisted on the accompanying duties with a plainness of speech, which we miss in later ages, together with the magnanimity shown by those who suffered it.*

The removal of the Holy See to Avignon was most disastrous to the Eternal City, which thereby lost, not only her historic position as the Capital of Christendom, but also the material benefits which the presence of the Popes con-

* The above is taken literally from Höfler, *Roman. Welt*, 131-133. See Kraus, 481, 487 *et seq.* Schubinger, 298, 374, and Hergenröther, ii., 1, 149 *et seq.*, 185 *et seq.*

ferred on the community at large, and on many of the individual inhabitants. While the Popes resided in Rome and its neighbourhood, they were able, for longer or shorter periods, to maintain order and peace between Barons and Burghers. Their Court and the influx of strangers which it attracted, brought great wealth into the City, and when the Pontiff was in their midst, the Romans could easily attain to lucrative ecclesiastical positions. This state of things was now completely changed. Rome, thrown upon herself, was in her interior resources inferior to all the considerable cities of central Italy. She became a prey to increasing isolation and anarchy.* The longer the absence of the Popes continued, the greater was the desolation. The Churches were so dilapidated and neglected that in St. Peter's and the Lateran cattle were grazing even to the foot of the altar. Many sacred edifices were roofless, and others almost in ruins.† The monuments of heathen antiquity fared even worse than those of Christian Rome, and were mercilessly destroyed. A Legate sold the marble blocks of the Colosseum to be burned for lime. The materials of the ancient edifices were even carried out of the City. In the archives regarding the construction of the Cathedral of Orvieto are a number of documents, which show that the overseers of the work brought a great deal of the marble employed from Rome, that they sent agents there almost more frequently than to Carrara, and that they repeatedly received presents of great blocks of marble,

* Sugenheim, 240 *et seq.* Papencordt, Rienzo, 37 *et seq.*

† In August, 1375, the Augustinian Luigi Marsigli wrote to Guido del Palagio: "Riguardi chi vuole le chiese di Roma, non dico se sono coperti gli altari, che della polvere sono più sovvenuti che di altro ricoprimento da quegli, che i titoli tengono di esse; non dico se sono officiate o cantonvisi l'ore, ma se hanno tetti, usci o serrami." Lettera del v. L. Marsigli, x., xi.

especially from the families of the Orsini and Savelli.* The only public work executed in Rome during the Avignon period was the construction of the marble steps leading up to the Church of St. Maria Ara Coeli. The remarkable development of art which had been going on during the latter half of the thirteenth century was suddenly arrested. The school of the Cosmati came to an end; the influence of Giotto had vanished.† Avignon became in this respect a dangerous rival to the Eternal City, for even in their exile the Popes did not forget the fine arts. Death alone hindered Giotto from accepting the flattering invitation of Benedict XII., and in 1338-39 the Pope summoned in his stead the celebrated painter, Simone Martini of Siena, to adorn his Cathedral and his Palace; the interesting but long-neglected frescoes of this artist are now, alas! in a melancholy condition.‡ The bereaved City fared almost as ill in regard to literature as to art. The consequences of this state of things, which then passed unperceived, made themselves felt at a later period. The triumph of the Renaissance in Rome would have been neither so rapid nor so complete, but for the state of barbarism into which the City had fallen when deprived of the Pope.

* Papencordt, Rienzo, 42. See della Valle, *Storia del duomo di Orvieto*, (Roma, 1791), 103, 105, 266, 268, 286, 289-290.

† Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 657. See Reumont, ii., 1000 *et seq.*, and Schnaase, vii., 2nd ed., 477.

‡ For Giotto's summons to Avignon, see Schnaase, vii., 1st ed., 356, note 2; regarding Simone Martini's paintings in Avignon, see Crowe-Cavalcaselle, ii., 261-269. John XXII. similarly encouraged art and artists; see Faucon in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'hist.*, published by the Ecole Française de Rome, ii. (1882), 43-83. On Simone Martini's paintings in Avignon, see Müntz in the 45th vol. of the *Mém. de la Soc. Nat. des Antiq. de la France*.

It is hard to form an adequate idea of the utter desolation and degradation of Rome at this time. The view on which Petrarch looked down from the Baths of Diocletian, with its hills crowned by solitary churches, its uncultivated fields, its masses of ancient and modern ruins, its scattered rows of houses, had nothing to distinguish it from the open country but the circuit of the old walls of Aurelian. The ruins of two epochs—heathen antiquity and the Christian middle ages—made up the Rome of those days.*

It was no mere figure of speech when Cardinal Napoleone Orsini, after the death of Clement V. (1314), assured the King of France that the transfer of the Papal residence to Avignon had brought Rome to the brink of ruin, or when at a later date (1347), Cola di Rienzo declared that the Eternal City was more like a den of robbers than the abode of civilized men.†

Rome learnt by bitter experience that she was historically important only as the seat of the Papacy, and the Popes had also much to suffer on account of their separation from their natural prescriptive home. Parted from Italy, the States of the Church, and Rome, the very ground had been cut away from under their feet. In one respect in particular this very soon made itself felt.

The financial difficulties from which the Popes had suffered even in the thirteenth century became much more serious after they had taken up their abode on French soil. On the one hand, the income they had drawn from Italy failed; and on the other, the tributary powers became much more irregular in the fulfilment of their obligations,

* Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 689. See 177 *et seq.*, 310 *et seq.*, 418 *et seq.*

† Cardinal N. Orsini's letter is printed in Baluze, Vitæ, ii., 289-292, that of Cola di Rienzo in an old Italian translation in Sansovino, Casa Orsini, 52-53b, and in Bussi, 195-196.

because they feared that the greater part of the subsidies they paid would fall into the hands of France. The Papal financiers adopted most questionable means of covering deficits. From the time of John XXII. especially, the hurtful system of Annates, Reservations, and Expectancies, came into play,* and a multitude of abuses were its consequence. Alvaro Pelayo, the most devoted, perhaps even over-zealous, defender of the Papal power in the fourteenth century, justly considers the employment of a measure, liable to excite the cupidity of the clergy, as one of the wounds which then afflicted the Church. His testimony is all the more worthy of consideration, because, as an official of many years' standing in the Court, he describes the state of things at Avignon from his own most intimate knowledge. In his celebrated book, "On the Lamentation of the Church," he says: "Whenever I entered the chambers of the ecclesiastics of the Papal Court, I found brokers and clergy, engaged in weighing and reckoning the money which lay in heaps before them."†

This system of taxation and its consequent abuses soon aroused passionate resentment. Dante, "consumed with zeal for the House of God," expressed, in burning words, his deep indignation against the cupidity and nepotism of the Popes, always, however, carefully distinguishing between Pope and Papacy, person and office.‡ It was not

* See Cristophe, ii., 8-16, and Phillips, v., 564 *et seq.* The manner in which Benedict XI. (1303-1304) sought to remedy financial pressure is described by Ch. Grandjean in the *Mélanges d'Arch., et d'Hist.*, iii., 1 and 2.

† A. Pelagius, ii., art. 7.

‡ Hettinger, Dante, 122 and 460. See also Reumont, ii., 816, who shows that the author of this financial system was a grave, simple, and moderate man. In support of my own judgment of the Avignon finance, which may perhaps be by many considered too severe, I would refer to the strong expressions used by J. von

long, however, before an opposition arose which made no such distinctions, and attacked not only the abuses which had crept in, but the Ecclesiastical authority itself. The Avignon system of finance, which contributed more than has been generally supposed to the undermining of the Papal authority, greatly facilitated the attacks of this party.

From what has been said it will be clearly seen that the long-continued sojourn of the Popes in France, occasioned as it was by the confusion of Italian affairs,* was an important turning-point in the history of the Papacy and of the Church. The course of development which had been going on for many centuries, was thereby almost abruptly interrupted, and a completely new state of things substituted for it. No one who has any idea of the nature and the necessity of historical continuity, can fail to perceive the danger of this transference of the centre of ecclesiastical unity to southern France.† The Papal power and the general interests of the Church, which at that time required quiet progress and in many ways thorough reform, must inevitably in the long run be severely shaken.

To make matters worse, the conflict between the Empire and the Church now broke out with unexpected violence. The most prominent antagonists of the Papacy, both ecclesiastical and political, gathered around Louis of Görres, in the *Histor-polit.* Bl. xxviii., 703 *et seq.*; see xvi., 328 *et seq.*, and in the introduction to H. Suso's *Leben und Schriften*, published by Diepenbrock (2nd ed., Regensburg, 1837), xxix. The feeling called forth in Germany by the manner in which the Avignon Popes amassed money, is reflected in many of the City Records (see *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, iv., 306; vii., 189; ix., 583), and about the end of this period, led in Germany, as well as in England, to open resistance. See *infra*, p. 91.

* See Renan in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1880), xxxviii., 112.

† Theiner-Fessler, vii. See Phillips, iii., 331, 334.

Bavaria, offering him their assistance against John XXII. At the head of the ecclesiastical opposition appeared the popular and influential order of the Friars Minor, who at this very moment were at daggers drawn with the Pope.* The special occasion of this quarrel was a difference between them and him, regarding the meaning of evangelical poverty; and the great popularity of the Order made their hostility all the more formidable.† The Minorites, who were irritated to the utmost against the Pope, succeeded in gaining great influence over Louis of Bavaria, an influence which is clearly traceable in the appeal published by him in 1324, at Sachenhausen, near Frankfort. In this remarkable document, amongst the many serious charges brought against "John XXII., who calls himself Pope," is that of heresy, and it is asserted that he exalts himself against the evangelical doctrines of perfect poverty, and thus against Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and the company of the Apostles, who all approved it by their lives.‡ After a passionate dogmatic exposition of the poverty of Christ and a shower of reproaches, comes the appeal to the Council, to a future legitimate Pope, to Holy Mother Church, to the Apostolic See, and to every one in general to whom an appeal could be made.§

This document, in which political and religious questions

* See Marcour, 1-20. Müller, i., 83 *et seq.* For the connection between this conflict and the Franciscan agitation which disturbed ecclesiastical affairs more than a century previously, see M. Ritter in the Theol. Literaturblatt, 1877, p. 121 *et seq.*

† Höfler, Avignonesische Päpste, 255, 256.

‡ Baluze, Vitæ, ii., 496 and 502.

§ *Loc cit.*, 511. For the Minorites' share in Louis' Appeal and his attitude towards them, see Marcour, 29 *et seq.*, 71-75. Müller, i., 75 *et seq.*, 86 *et seq.*, and Riezler, Gesch. Bayerns, ii., 352 *et seq.*

were mingled together, was sedulously disseminated in Germany and Italy. It must have greatly embittered the whole contest. A religious conflict was now added to the political one. Louis, a simple soldier, was unable to measure its consequences and powerless to control its progress. It grew more and more passionate and violent. The Minorites no longer confined themselves to the province of theology, in which the conflict between them and the Pope had at first arisen, but also took part in the political question. Led on by their theological antagonism, they proceeded to build up a political system resting on theories which threatened to disturb all existing ideas of law, and to shake the position of the Papacy to its very foundations. The special importance of the action of the Minorites* consists in the assertion and maintenance of these principles, which indeed did not at once come prominently forward, for the writings of the Englishman, William Occam, in which they are chiefly propounded, collectively date from a period subsequent to the Diet of Rhense. There can, however, be no doubt that the views which Occam afterwards expressed in his principal work, the "Dialogus,"† had already at an earlier period exercised great influence.

* Special stress is laid on this by Marcour, 29.

† Besides this book, his work, *Super potestate summi pontificis octo quæstionum decisiones*, is worthy of consideration. See, regarding both works, Marcour, 30 *et seq.* Riezler, *Literar. Widerfacher*, 249-275, and Gierke, 54 *et seq.*, 213 *et seq.* For Occam's philosophical system, see Schwab, 274 *et seq.*, cf. 31 *et seq.*, Prantl, *Gesch. der Logik*, iii, 327-420, and Haffner, 634 *et seq.* The relation between Occam's doctrine regarding the Lord's Supper and that of Luther is treated in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1839, p. 69-136; 1873, p. 471 *et seq.* On Occam's view of the relations between Church and State, see Dorner's *Essay in the Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1885, Vol. iv.

According to the theory of Occam, who was deeply imbued with the political ideas of the ancients, the Emperor has a right to depose the Pope should he fall into heresy. Both General Councils and Popes may err, Holy Scripture and the beliefs held by the Church at all times and in all places, can alone be taken as the unalterable rule of Faith and Morals. The Primacy and Hierarchical Institutions in general are not necessary or essential to the subsistence of the Church; and the forms of the ecclesiastical, as of the political, constitution ought to vary with the varying needs of the time.

With the Minorites two other men soon came to the front, who may be considered as the spokesmen of the definite political opposition to the Papacy. It was probably in the summer of the year 1326 that the Professors of the University of Paris, Marsiglio of Padua and Jean de Jandun, made their appearance at the Royal Court of Nuremberg.* The "Defender of Peace" (*Defensor Pacis*†), the celebrated joint work of these two most important literary antagonists of the Popes of their day, is of so remarkable a character that we must not omit to give a further account of its subversive propositions. This work, which is full of violent invectives against John XXII., "the great dragon and the old serpent," asserts the un-

* See Riezler, *Litar. Widersacher*, 29 *et seq.*, who in opposition to Döllinger and others shows that neither Jean de Jandun nor Marsiglio belonged to the Order of Minorites (34 *et seq.*, 56). For the date of the arrival of these two learned men in Nuremberg, see Müller, i., 162.

† Riezler is not entirely correct regarding the editions and MSS., *Litar. Widersacher*, 193 *et seq.* The work was completed, according to Müller (i., 368), probably in June, 1324. Another, but not sufficiently considered conjecture as to the origin of this remarkable document is put forward by M. Ritter in the *Theol. Lit. Blatt.* (1874, p. 560).

conditional sovereignty of the people. The legislative power which is exercised through their elected representatives, belongs to them, also the appointment of the executive through their delegates. The ruler is merely the instrument of the legislature. He is subject to the law, from which no individual is exempt. If the ruler exceeds his authority, the people are justified in depriving him of his power, and deposing him. The jurisdiction of the civil power extends even to the determination of the number of men to be employed in every trade or profession. Individual liberty has no more place in Marsiglio's state than it had in Sparta.

Still more radical, if possible, are the views regarding the doctrine and government of the Church put forth in this work. The sole foundation of faith and of the Church is Holy Scripture, which does not derive its authority from her, but, on the contrary, confers on her that which she possesses. The only true interpretation of Scripture is, not that of the Church, but that of the most intelligent people, so that the University of Paris may very well be superior to the Court of Rome. Questions concerning faith are to be decided, not by the Pope, but by a General Council.

This General Council is supreme over the whole Church, and is to be summoned by the State. It is to be composed not only of the clergy, but also of laymen elected by the people. As regards their office, all priests are equal; according to Divine right, no one of them is higher than another. The whole question of Church government is one of expediency, not of the faith necessary to salvation. The Primacy of the Pope is not founded on Scripture, nor on Divine right. His authority therefore can only, according to Marsiglio, be derived from a General Council and from the legislature of the State; and for the election of a

Pope the authority of the Council requires confirmation from the State. The office of the Pope is, with the College appointed for him by the Council or by the State, to signify to the State authority the necessity of summoning a Council, to preside at the Council, to draw up its decisions, to impart them to the different Churches, and to provide for their execution. The Pope represents the executive power, while the legislative power in its widest extent appertains to the Council. But a far higher and more influential position belongs to the Emperor in Marsiglio's Church; the convocation and direction of the Council is his affair; he can punish priests and bishops, and even the Pope. Ecclesiastics are subject to the temporal tribunals for transgressions of the law, the Pope himself is not exempt from penal justice, far less can he be permitted to judge his ecclesiastics, for this is the concern of the State. The property of the Church enjoys no immunity from taxation; the number of ecclesiastics in a country is to be limited by the pleasure of the State; the patronage of all benefices belongs to the State, and may be exercised either by Princes, or by the majority of the members of the parish to which an ecclesiastic is to be appointed. The parish has not only the right of election and appointment, but also the control of the official duties of the priest, and the ultimate power of dismissal. Exclusion from the Christian community, in so far as temporal and worldly interests are connected with it, requires its consent. Like Calvin * in later days, Marsiglio regards all the judicial and legislative power of the Church

* See Kampschulte, Joh. Calvin (Leipzig, 1869), i., 268 *et seq.* The relation of Marsiglio's system with that of Calvin has not been remarked by any modern historian but Döllinger (Lehrbuch, ii., 1, 259). It seems to me probable that the "Defensor Pacis" exercised a direct influence on the "Reformer" of Geneva.

as inherent in the people, and delegated by them to the clergy. The community and the State are everything; the Church is put completely in the back-ground; she has no legislature, no judicial power, and no property.

The goods of the Church belong to the individuals who have devoted them to ecclesiastical uses, and then to the State. The State is to decide regarding sale and purchase, and to consider whether these goods are sufficient to provide for the needs of the clergy and of the poor. The State has also power, should it be necessary for the public good, to deprive the Church of her superfluities and limit her to what is necessary, and the State has the right to effect this secularization, notwithstanding the opposition of the Priests. But never, Marsiglio teaches, is power over temporal goods to be conceded to the Roman Bishop, because experience has shown that he uses it in a manner dangerous to the public peace.* Like Valla and Macchiavelli, in later times, Marsiglio assumes the air of an Italian patriot, when he attributes all the troubles of Italy to the Popes. This is a palpable sophistry, for that reproach was in no way applicable to Marsiglio's days. Italy was then under the sway of her most distinguished monarch, King Robert of Anjou, whom the Popes had protected to the best of their power, and Louis of Bavaria's expedition to Rome was certainly neither their wish nor their work. On the contrary, at a later period, Pope John XXII. issued a Bull

* Friedberg in Dove-Friedberg, *Zeitschr. für Kirchenrecht*, viii., 121-137. See also Friedberg, *Mittelalterliche Lehren*, ii., 32-48. Riezler, *Wiedersacher*, 198 *et seq.*, 225-226. Maassen, 217-220. Gierke, 52-54, 125, 128, 228. Martens, 397-399. Schockel, *Marsilius von Padua* (Strasburg, 1877). B. Labanca, *Marsiglio di P.* (Padova, 1882). See Gött. Gel. Anz., 1883, No. 29. Ischackert, 2, 5, 45, has some good remarks regarding Marsiglio's theories of Church and State.

with the object of separating Italy from Germany, and thereby destroying the influence of the "Ultramontanes," or non-Italians in Italy.*

In face of these outrageous attacks and this blank denial of the Divine institution of the Primacy and the Hierarchy, there were never wanting brave champions of the Apostolic See and of the doctrine of the Church. Most of them, unfortunately, were led by excess of zeal to formulate absurd and preposterous propositions. Agostino Trionfo, an Italian, and Alvaro Pelayo, a Spaniard, have, in this matter, gained a melancholy renown. As one extreme leads to another, in their opposition to the Cæsaro-papacy of Marsiglio, they exalted the Pope into a kind of demi-god, with absolute authority over the whole world. Evidently, exaggerations of this kind were not calculated to counteract the attacks of political scepticism in regard to the authority of the Holy See.†

The theory put forward in the "Defensor Pacis," regarding the omnipotence of the State and the consequent annihilation of all individual and ecclesiastical liberty, far

* Höfler, *Kaiserthum*, 153. The famous Bull of John XXII., by which Italy was severed from the Empire, neither exists in the Vatican, in the original, nor in the *Regesta*. This fact has been established by F. Denifle (*Archiv. von Denifle und Ehrle.*, i., 626), and the question of the authenticity of the Bull has entered into a new phase. Scheffer-Boichorst (*Mittheilungen*, vi., 78) and W. Felten (*Die Bulle: "Ne pretereat."*, Trier., 1885) have pronounced against it. In the last mentioned, a most conscientious work, the author endeavours to show that the Bull is a forgery, composed in the Chancery of the House of Anjou, published and used against the Pope by the Minorites.

† See Hergenröther, *Kirchengeschichte*, ii., 1, 18. *Staat und Kirche*, 415 *et seq.* Lederer, 193. Döllinger, *Papst-Fabeln*, 130., and Alzog, ii., 10th ed., 14. Regarding the Bull of John XXII. against the "Defensor Pacis," see Werner, iii., 547 *et seq.*

surpassed all preceding attacks on the position and constitution of the Church in audacity, novelty, and acrimony. Practically this doctrine, which was copied from the ancients, meant the overthrow of all existing institutions and the separation of Church and State. Many passages of the work go far beyond the subsequent utterances of Wyclif and Huss, or even those of Luther and Calvin, whose forerunner Marsiglio may be considered. The great French Revolution was a partial realization of his schemes, and, in these days, a powerful party is working for the accomplishment of the rest.* Huss has been styled "the Precursor" of the Revolution,† but the author of the "Defensor Pacis" might yet more justly claim the title.

Louis of Bavaria accepted the dedication of the book which brought these doctrines before the world and promulgated political principles of so questionable a character, but a still greater triumph was in store for Marsiglio. In union with the anti-papal Minorites and the Italian Ghibellines, he succeeded in inducing Louis to go to Rome and to engage in the Revolutionary proceedings of the year 1328.‡ The collation of the Imperial Crown by the Roman people, their deposition of the Pope and

* Riezler, *Widersacher*, 227. See Friedberg, *Mittelalterl. Lehren*, 48, 49. Schwab, 30, 31. G. B. Lechler, *Der Kirchenstaat und die Opposition gegen den päpstlichen Absolutismus im Anfang des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1870), 20 *et seq.* Preger, 6 *et seq.* Köhler (*Die Staatslehre der Vorreformatoren*) in den *Jahrb. für deutsche Theologie* (1874), xix., 356 *et seq.*

† L. Blanc, *Hist. de la Révol. Française* (1847), i., 19.

‡ The well-informed Mussato mentions Marsiglio and Ubertino di Casale as the advisers who had most influence with Louis on his expedition to Italy. Böhmer, *Fontes*, i., 175. See Riezler, 43 *et seq.*, 49-50. Müller, i., 163 *et seq.* For the part taken by the Minorites, see Marcour, 43 *et seq.*

election of an anti-Pope in the person of the Minorite, Pietro da Corvara, were the practical results of the teaching of the "Defensor Pacis."*

Some of the Emperors of the House of Hohenstaufen had been men of stronger characters than Louis was, yet none had ever gone to such extremes. He appealed to doctrines whose application to ecclesiastical matters was equivalent to revolution, and whose re-action on the sphere of politics after their triumph over the Church would have been rapid and incalculable. For a century and a half the Church had been free from schism; by his action he let loose this terrible evil upon her. His culpable rashness gave a revolutionary and democratic turn to the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy. He repudiated all the canonical decisions regarding the Supremacy of the Pope which the Emperors of the House of Hapsburg had accepted, degraded the Empire to a mere Investiture from the Capitol, and despoiled the Crown of Charles the Great, in the eyes of all who believed in the ancient imperial hierarchy, of the last ray of its majesty. It is strange that under Louis the Roman Empire should actually have been thus desecrated and degraded, so soon after Dante's idealization had crowned it with a halo of glory.†

It is impossible in the present retrospect to describe all

* Höfler, *Concilia Pragensia* (Prag., 1862), p. xxi.

† These are the words of Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 153-155. The passage here given from a manuscript in the Vatican Library, (Cod. Vat. 4008. Nicolai Minor. ord. collectio gestorum tempore Joannis XXII. super quæstione de paupertate Christi, fol. 27, not 25) has also been published from a copy by Ficker von Huber in the 4th volume of the *Böhmischen Fontes* (p. 590). at full length. The beginning of this remarkable passage had already been printed from a Parisian MS., in the year 1693, by Baluze (i., 706).

the vicissitudes of Church and State during the struggle which was so disastrous to both. Envenomed by the dependence of the Popes on France, the exasperation on both sides was intense. The ecclesiastical power was implacable, lost to all sense of moderation, dignity, or charity. The secular power, cowardly but defiant, shrank from no extreme, sought the aid of the lowest demagogues, and by its vacillations frustrated each favourable chance that arose. The long and obstinate warfare, so little honourable to either party, could have no result save the equal humiliation of both and the complete ruin of social order in Church and State.* John XXII., restless and active to the last,† died at a great age on the 4th December, 1334.

His successor, Benedict XII. (1334-1342), a man of austere morals, was unable, notwithstanding his gentle and pacific disposition, to compose the strife with Louis of Bavaria and the Friars. King Philip VI. of France and the Cardinals in the French interest laboured to prevent peace between the Pope and Louis, and Benedict had not sufficient strength of will to carry out his purpose in face of their opposition.‡

John XXII., in his latter years, had thought of returning to Rome, and Pope Benedict XII. wished to do so, but the

* Such is the opinion of Görres (in the Preface to H. Suso's *Leben und Schriften*, published by M. Diepenbrock [Regensburg, 1829], xxix.-xxx.) and Böhmer (*Regesten Ludwigs des Bayern*, [Frankfurt, 1839], xiii. Note: See Janssen, *Böhmers Leben*, i., 284).

† The volumes of *Regesta* preserved in the Secret Papal Archives, containing sixty thousand, (according to other computations nearer eighty thousand), documents, bear witness to the world-wide labours of John XXII. Dudik, *Iter Rom.*, ii., 4 (see *Civ. Catt. Ottob.*, 1884, p. 39).

‡ See Müller, ii., 3 *et seq.*

Eternal City was at this time an arena of passionate discord and constant bloodshed. A Pope could not have remained there, even if the predominance of French influence and the irksome protection of the House of Anjou had allowed him to make the attempt.* King Philip VI. and the French Cardinals, who formed the large majority of the Sacred College, accordingly found no difficulty in detaining the Pope on the banks of the Rhone. In face of the hopeless and yearly increasing confusion in Italy, the wish to return to the Tombs of the Apostles gradually died away in his noble soul. In 1339 he began to build at Avignon a suitable dwelling-place, half palace and half fortress; it was enlarged by his successors and so gradually grew into the celebrated Palace of the Popes. This gigantic pile stands† on the rock of the Doms, and with its huge, heavy square towers, its naked yellowish-brown colossal walls, five yards in thickness and broken irregularly by a few pointed windows, is one of the most imposing creations of mediæval architecture. In its strange combination of castle and cloister, prison and palace, this temporary residence of the Popes reflects both the deterioration and the fate of the Papacy in France. It was the Popes' prison, and at the same time their Baronial Castle, in that feudal epoch when the Heads of Christendom were vassals of the French Crown, and were not ashamed to bear the title of Counts of Venaissin and Avignon. The

* Kraus, 467.

† According to Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionn. de l'Architecture* (Paris, 1864), vii., 27, it occupies an area of 8000 mètres and was used as a barrack until 1883. It may be said that the French nation is in honour bound to restore this ancient edifice, whose neglected condition strikes every visitor; this work is now in contemplation. E. Müntz is preparing an exhaustive work on the Palace of the Popes at Avignon.

Palace of the Popes, in comparison with which the neighbouring Cathedral has an insignificant appearance, also manifests the decline of the ecclesiastical, and the predominance of the worldly, warlike, and princely element, which marked the Avignon period.*

The labours of Benedict XII. as a reformer, in the best sense of the word, are worthy of the highest praise. In this respect he forms a striking contrast with his predecessor; he also most carefully avoided anything approaching to nepotism. "A Pope," he said, "should be like Melchisedech, without father, without mother, without genealogy."† During his whole Pontificate he manifested the most earnest desire to do away with the abuses which had prevailed in the preceding reign, severely repressing bribery and corruption in all the branches of ecclesiastical administration. He sent the prelates who lingered about the Court back to their dioceses, and revoked all In-Commendams and Expectancies, with the exception of those appertaining to the Cardinals and Patriarchs. He made the reform of the relaxed Religious Orders of men his special care,‡ and, as one of his biographers observes, he caused the Church, which had become Agar, to be again Sara, and brought her out of bondage into freedom.§

Benedict XII.'s successor, Pierre Roger de Beaufort, was

* See Boiserée (Stuttgart, 1862), i., 664, and Gregorovius, *Wanderjahre*, ii., 2nd ed., 330, 331. See A. Stolz, *Spanisches* (Freiburg, 1854), 55, and L. de Lancel, *Avignon* (Paris, 1872), 329 *et seq.*

† This is related by Cardinal Ægidius, of Viterbo, who lived much later; see Pagi, *Breviarium*, iv., 117.

‡ See Schwab, 12 *et seq.*, and Müller, ii., 3, who gives the authentic proofs. See also Schmieder, *Zur Gesch. der Durchführung der Benedictina in Deutschland*, in the "*Studien aus dem Benedictiner-Orden*," iv., Jahrg. 4 and 5.

§ *Quinta Vita Benedicti XII.*, in Baluze i., 232.

also a native of the South of France; he was born at the Castle of Maumont in the Diocese of Limoges, and, on his accession, took the name of Clement VI.* (1342-1352). Unlike the pacific Benedict, this strong-minded Pontiff proceeded to resume against Louis of Bavaria the traditions of John XXII., and with success. He skilfully turned the enmity of the Houses of Lützelburg and Wittelsbach to account against the Emperor. A deadly struggle between these two families was imminent, when Louis suddenly died. The triumph of the Papacy seemed assured, for Charles IV. undertook to satisfy all the demands of the Papal Court,† and even the portion of the German nation which had followed the Emperor in his opposition to the Popes, gradually reverted to its former path.

But the whole nature of the conflict between the two divinely appointed powers, and the new ideas which had come to light during its continuance, had worked a great change in the spirit of the age. The old Pagan idea of the State, so destructive of every other human or divine right, had been revived by Marsiglio and Occam, and its delusive sophistry had beguiled many. The disastrous struggle had shaken the allegiance of thousands to the authority of the Pope, many spiritual bonds which had hitherto attached them to the Church were loosened, the general feeling was no longer what it had formerly been,‡ and, moreover, the corruption of morals during these years had made frightful progress.

* For his earlier life and his relations with Charles IV., see Werunsky, *Gesch. Kaiser Karls IV.* (Innsbruck, 1880), 19 *et seq.* 257 *et seq.*, and Gottlob, 39 *et seq.*, 44 *et seq.*

† Huber, *Regesten Karls IV.* (Innsbruck, 1877), xv.-xvi., 21, No. 228.

‡ Preger, 61. See Müller, ii., 266, and Lorenz, *Papstwahl*, 194.

The Pontificate of Clement VI. was marked by the revolt of Cola di Rienzo, and the magic power attached to the name of the Eternal City was again manifested, but the fantastic extravagance of the Tribune, the instability of the Roman people, and, finally, the measures taken against it by the Pope, soon made an end of the new Republic and its head. The whole revolt seemed like some meteor that beams forth for a moment and is immediately lost in the darkness. Yet in some respects it was an important sign of the times. The programme of Italian unity under an Italian Emperor, put forth by the "Tragic Actor in the tattered purple of antiquity,"* clearly showed the progress already achieved by the modern idea of nationality. The ruin of the great political unity of the Middle Ages brought forth the selfish spirit of modern times. This unchristian nationalism was first developed in France, the very nation into whose power the Head of the Church had fallen. Thence it spread to Italy, where it found an ally in the heathen Renaissance. This was only natural, for nationalism in its narrowest sense was the spirit of the ancient world. Sooner or later a conflict between the Church and this degenerate principle was inevitable, for the Universal Church cannot be national. According to the will of her Divine Founder, she must accommodate herself to every race: there must be One Fold and One Shepherd. At one and the same time the most stable and the most pliable of all institutions, the Church can be all things to all men, and can educate every nation without doing violence to her nature. She persecutes no tongue nor people, but she shows no special preferences. She is simply Catholic, that is, Universal. Were it possible for her to become the tool of any one

* This name is well bestowed on him by Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 358.

nation, she would cease to be the Universal Church,* embracing the whole world.

Clement VI. was in many respects a distinguished man.† He was celebrated for immense theological knowledge, for a marvellous memory, and, above all, for rare eloquence. Some of his sermons, preached in the Papal Chapel before his elevation to the Pontificate, are preserved in manuscript in German Libraries. When Pope, he used to preach publicly on occasions of special importance to the Church, such, for example, as the appointment of Louis of Spain to be Prince and Lord of the Canary Islands (1344).‡

* "Cola di Rienzo und die modernen Nationalitäten : " *Historpolit.*, Bl. xx., 470 *et seq.*, and Döllinger, *Kirche und Kirchen*, 20, 21.

† Höfler, *Avignonische Päpste*, 271, considers him the most important amongst the Popes of his time. See *Aus Avignon*, 19. Christophe goes further (ii., 167), for in his opinion few Popes have ever ruled the Church with greater ability.

‡ *Collatio facta per dominum Clementem papam quando constituit Ludovicum de Hispania principem Insularum Fortunatarum*. Cod. xi., 343, f. 185a-189b of the Library of the Canons Regular at St. Florian; also in Cod. 4195, f. 105-154 of the Court Library at Vienna (see Höfler, *Roman. Welt*, 123, 124). The sermons of Clement VI. were very widely circulated. Copies of them are found in Brussels: *Bibl. de Bourg.*, Cod. 3480; *Eichstädt Library* (see Höfler, *Aus Avignon*, 10, 18, 20); *St. Florian Library*, Cod. xi., 126, f. 196b *et seq.*, and xi-343; *Frankfurt on the Main, Town Library* (Cod. 71 of the former Cathedral Library, identical with the contemporary MS., from which Schumk took his copy, *Beiträge zur Mainzer Gesch.* [Frankfurt, 1788]); *St. Gall Monastery Library*, Cod. 1023; *Gnesen Cathedral Chapter Library*, Cod. 53 (saec. xiv.); *Innsbruck: University Library*, Cod. 25, f. 119 *et seq.*, 234, f. 204b *et seq.*, 769, f. 82 *et seq.*; *Kremsmünster Library*, Cod. 4 (see Schmid, *Cat. Cod. Cremif.* f. 76); *Leipzig: Paul.-Bibl.* (*Montfaucon Bibl.* 595); *Metz: Library* Cod. 97; *Munich: Court Library*, Cod. Lat. 8826 (see Müller, i., 144), and Cod. Lat. 903, 18205, 18660, 21247—see the Catalogue of MSS.

The gentleness and benevolence of this Pontiff were even more remarkable than his erudition and eloquence.* He was ever the helper of the poor and needy, and the brave defender of the unfortunate and oppressed. When a sanguinary persecution broke out against the Jews, who were detested as the representatives of capital, and slain by thousands by the excited populace in France and Germany, the Pope alone espoused their cause. He felt that his exalted position imposed on him the duty of curbing the wild fanaticism of the turbulent masses. In July and September, 1348, he issued Bulls for the protection of the abhorred race. If in the frantic excitement of the time, these measures were almost fruitless, Clement VI. at least did all that was in his power, by affording refuge to the homeless wanderers in his little State.†

But notwithstanding the admirable qualities of this Pontiff, there is a dark side, which we must not conceal. Through the acquisition, by purchase, of Avignon and the Olmütz Library (see Archiv, x., 676); Oxford and Cambridge (see Oudin, iii., 931); Paris Library (see Müller, i., 166; ii., 361, 363); Rheims: Archiepiscopal Library, according to Ziegelbauer, Hist. rei. litt. ord. S. Bened., iii., 181 (if still extant?); Treves: Seminary Library, Cod. iii., 10 (olim monast. S. Mathiæ); Venice: Library of St. Mark's, cl., vi., Cod. 9; Vienna: Court Library (see above and Tabulæ i., 328; ii., 487). Sermones Mag., Petri Rogerii memb. s. 15, according to a note of Heine inserted in the Serapeum (1847), T. viii., p. 87. These sermons were found in a MS. in the Library of the Monastery of Ripoli, whence they have been transferred to the Archives of the Crown of Aragon at Barcelona.

* Clementissimus ille Clemens, clementiæ speculum. Tertia Vita Clementis VI., Baluze, i., 300; compare 263.

† See L. Bardinet, Condition des Juifs du comtat Venaissin pendant le séjour des Papes à Avignon, in the Revue Hist., xii., 18-22; Haeser, iii. 155, and K. Müller's Literaturangaben in the Zeitschr. für Kirchen-Gesch., vii., 114.

creation of many French Cardinals, he made the Roman Church still more dependent on France.* Her true interests suffered much from the manner in which he heaped riches and favours on his relations, and from the luxury of his Court. Extravagance and good cheer were carried to a frightful pitch in Avignon during his reign. There was a certain magnanimity in the prodigality of Clement, who said that he was Pope only to promote the happiness of his subjects;† but the treasure left by his two immediate predecessors was soon exhausted, and fresh resources were needed to enable him to continue his liberal mode of life. He was only able to procure these at the cost of the interests of the Church, for his financial measures were even more injurious than those of Clement V. and John XXII. As in former times, so now, the frequent and excessive exercise of the undoubted‡ right of

* See Christophe, ii., 107 *et seq.*, 352 *et seq.*, and de Beaume-fort, Cession de la ville et de l'Etat d'Avignon au Pape Clément VI., par Jeanne I., reine de Naples (Apt., 1874). A characteristic sign of the increase of French influence (see the extract from Faucon, 82, *supra*, p. 58) at the Papal Court, after the time of John XXII., is found in the fact that Clement VI., instead of, like his predecessor, employing an Italian artist in the decoration of the Papal Palace at Avignon, selected a French one. In a contract in the Town Archives at Avignon, of the year 1349, this Simonettus Lugdunensis, pictor curiam Romanam sequens is appointed. The monogram of this painter (M.L.) is also to be seen in the Chapel of Innocent VI. at Villeneuve; see Canron, Le Palais des Papes à Avignon (2nd ed., Avignon, 1875), 21. According to Müntz (Bullet. Monument., 1884), the Italian element was still in a majority among the artists employed by Clement VI. Cf. what this writer says about Simonet of Lyons. Cf. Janitscheck, Répert, T. viii., p. 390. On the Library of the Popes at Avignon, see Faucon, La Librairie des Papes, 1316-1420 (Paris, 1886), Vol. i. and ii.

† Baluze, i., 282.

‡ See Phillips, ii., 585 *et seq.*; v., 540 *et seq.*

the Popes to levy taxes led, in many countries, to violent resistance. Among the Teutonic nations especially, the discontent was extreme.* England endeavoured to protect herself by strict legislative enactments,† and her example was afterwards followed by Germany. Owing, however, to political distractions, the opposition was not unanimous, although the measures adopted were, in some cases, sufficiently stringent. In October, 1372, the monasteries and abbeys in Cologne entered into a compact to resist Pope Gregory XI. in his proposed levy of a tithe on their revenues. The wording of their document manifests the depth of the feeling which prevailed in Germany against the Court of Avignon. "In consequence," it says, "of the exactions with which the Papal Court burdens the clergy, the Apostolic See has fallen into such contempt, that the Catholic Faith in these parts seems to be seriously imperilled. The laity speak slightingly of the Church, because, departing from the custom of former days, she hardly ever sends forth preachers or reformers, but rather ostentatious men, cunning, selfish, and greedy. Things have come to such a pass, that few are Christians more than in name."‡ The example of Cologne was soon followed. Similar protests were issued in the same month by the Chapters of Bonn, Xanten, and Soest, and in the month of

* Among the Latin races also, complaints of the enormous exactions of the Avignon Court were heard. The Augustinian, Luigi Marsigli, wrote to a friend from Paris on the 20th August, 1375: *Alle disordinate spese di Avignone non basta le offerende di San Pietro e Paulo, e non basterebbe quello che Cresco in Lidia raunò; che Cesare donò in Roma, o cio che in quella distrusse Nerone. Lettera del b. L. Marsigli, p. xi.*

† See Lingard, iv., 178 *et seq.* Schwab, 530. Pauli, iv., 481 *et seq.* Stubbs, *Const. hist. of England* (Oxford, 1878), iii., 314.

‡ The document is printed in Lacomblet, *Urkundenbuch für Gesch. des Nieder-rheins* (Düsseldorf, 1853), iii., 627-629.

November by the ecclesiastics of Mayence.* Such was the feeling in Western Germany towards the end of the Avignon period, and in Southern Germany the same sentiments prevailed. Duke Stephen the elder of Bavaria and his sons addressed a letter to the ecclesiastics of their country in 1367, informing them "that the Pope lays a heavy tax on the income of the clergy, and has thus brought ruin on the monasteries; they are therefore strictly enjoined, under severe penalties, to pay no tax or tribute, for their country is a free country, and the princes will not permit the introduction of such customs, for the Pope has no orders to give in their country."†

Clement VI., unfortunately, did not recognize the injury inflicted on the interests of the Church by his extravagant demands for money. On the contrary, when the abuses which had ensued were brought to his notice, and he was reminded that none of his predecessors had allowed things to go to such lengths, he replied, "My predecessors did not know how to be Popes,"‡ a saying which is characteristic of this Pontiff, in whose person the period of the Avignon exile is most characteristically portrayed.§

* Gudenus, *Cod. dipl. Mog.* (Francof., 1751), iii., 507-514.

† Printed by Freyberg, *Gesch. der bayerischen Landstände* (Sulzbach, 1828), i., 265; see also, although it belongs to the period of the Schism (1407), the letter of Duke Frederick of Austria to the religious communities of the Tyrol, in Brandis, *Tirol unter Friedrich von Oesterreich* (Wien, 1821), 291, 292.

‡ Baluze, i., 311. See Schwab, 14 *et seq.*, 37, 39.

§ Hefele, vi., 579, 588; Höfler, *Aus Avignon*, 19; Hammerich, 163; Müller, ii., 165; Villani and others also accuse Clement VI. of immorality. How close his relations were with France is clearly shown by the account of the sums of money, which he and his brother Guillaume Roger lent to Philip VI., John II., and the French barons during the long war. Between 1345 and 1350 Philip VI. received 592,000 golden florins and 5,000 scudi, and John II. the enormous sum of 3,517,000 florins. See *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, xl., 570-578.

Happily for the Church, Clement's successor, Innocent VI.* (1352-1362), was of a very different stamp. This "austere and righteous" man seems to have taken Benedict XII. as his model. Immediately after his coronation he revoked the Constitution of Clement VI., granting benefices in certain cathedral and collegiate churches to ecclesiastical dignitaries, suspended a number of Reservations and In-Commendams, expressed his disapproval of pluralities, and bound every beneficed priest to personal residence, under pain of excommunication. In this way he emptied the Papal Palace of a crowd of useless courtiers, whose only occupation was intrigue and money-making. Naturally frugal in his own expenses, and convinced that it was his duty to be very careful in regard to the possessions of the Church, he banished all splendour from his Court, put a stop to superfluous outlay, and dismissed needless servants. He required the Cardinals, many of whom were given up to luxury and had amassed immense wealth,† to follow his example, and often rebuked the passions and failings of individual members of the Sacred College. Preferment in his days was the reward of merit. "Ecclesiastical dignities," he used to say, "should follow virtue, not birth."‡ Innocent VI., who contemplated a thorough reform of Church government in general, earnestly strove to stem the corruption of the age, even beyond his own immediate sphere. Accordingly, in 1357, he sent Bishop Philippe de Labassole to Germany to labour at the reform of

* This energetic Pope was not born at Maumont, as has often been stated, but at the village of Mont near Beyssac, close to the Castle of Pompadour. See Christophe, ii., 170, and Werunsky, 61, note 5. Gregorovius repeats the old error in his latest edition (vi., 3rd ed., 322).

† See André, *Monarch. pontif.*, 243 *et seq.*, 319.

‡ See Christophe, ii., 173, for particular details. See also Schwab, 17, and Werunsky, 63.

the clergy.* Almost all historians regard Innocent VI. as an austere, earnest, and capable ruler, who,—although not wholly free from the taint of nepotism,—worked unceasingly for the welfare of the Church and of his people. Some even consider him the best of the Avignon Popes.†

This remarkable Pontiff also lent a helping hand to the final restoration of the Empire, but this new Empire was too weak to have sufficed for itself even in ordinary times. From the fear of a return to the days of Frederick II. and Louis of Bavaria, it was considered prudent, if possible, to deprive the Empire of all power of injuring the Church, and everything else was sacrificed to this idea.‡ The mistake proved a serious one. With all his admirable qualities, Innocent VI. was no politician.

The brightest spot in his Pontificate is the restoration of the papal authority in Italy, by means of the gifted Cardinal Albornoz.§ The return of the Pope to his original and proper capital was now a possibility. It was, moreover, becoming a matter of urgent necessity, as the residence of the Papal Court on the banks of the Rhone had been rendered most insecure by the increasing power of mercenary bands and the growing confusion of French

* See Schubiger, 16 *et seq.*; and Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, xix., 341.

† Thus Sugenheim, 257; Papencordt, Rienzo, 277, and Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 390. See Hammerich, 163, 164, and Zöpffel in Herzogs Real-Encyklopädie, vii., 2nd ed., 338. Regarding the appointment of the first Humanist in the Papal Court by Innocent VI., see *supra* p. 54, note †; and for the refutation of the idea that Innocent VI. was an enemy of learning, see Hist. litt., t. xxiv., 21, 22.

‡ Höfler, Roman. We, 127. See Avignonesische Päpste, 282, 283.

§ See Reumont, ii., 900 *et seq.*; Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 323 *et seq.*, and Werunsky, 65 *et seq.*

affairs. Innocent VI. had indeed meant to visit Rome,* but old age and sickness frustrated his purpose. His successor, the learned and saintly Urban V. (1362-1370), was more fortunate. Two great events mark his Pontificate as one of the most important of the century.

His return to Rome, which the Emperor Charles IV. promoted with all his power, was effected in 1367. It was the only means by which the papal authority could be reinstated, the Papacy delivered from the entanglement of the war between France and England, and the necessary reform of ecclesiastical discipline carried out.

The second great event, which occurred in the following year, was the Emperor Charles IV.'s pilgrimage to Rome and the friendly alliance between the Empire and the Church.† The return of Urban V. to the tombs of the Apostles was an occasion of immense rejoicing to all earnest and devout Italians. Giovanni Colombini, the founder of the Gesuati, and his religious came as far as Corneto to meet the Pope, singing hymns of praise. They bore palm branches in their hands, and accompanied the Holy Father on his way with rejoicings. Shortly afterwards he confirmed their statutes which were based on the Rule of St. Benedict. Petrarch welcomed the Pope on his entry into Rome in the words of the psalmist: "When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a barbarous people, then was our mouth filled with gladness and our tongue with joy."

Rome had seen no Pope within her walls for more than

* See his letter of April 28, 1361, to Charles IV., in Martène, *Thesaur*, ii., 946, 947. For the manner in which the Popes were threatened at Avignon, see Herquet, 49 *et seq.*; André, 402 *et seq.*; and Gottlob, 87 *et seq.*, 93.

† Höfler, *Roman. Welt*, 129. "When this was written in 1367 the two swords were reconciled," Limburg Chronik, 55.

sixty years ; the city was a very picture of utter decay : the principal churches, the Lateran Basilica, St. Peter's, and St. Paul's, and the Papal Palaces were almost in ruins. The experience of two generations had proved, that while the Popes might possibly do without Rome, Rome could not do without the Popes. Urban V. at once gave orders for the restoration of the dilapidated buildings and churches.* Royal guests soon arrived at her gates, and the city gradually began to recover.† The Romans came to meet their Sovereign with all due respect and submission‡ ; peace and quietness seemed at last to have returned. But Urban V. was not endowed with strength and perseverance to unravel the tangled skein of Italian affairs, and resist his own longing and that of most of the Cardinals for their beautiful French home.§ In vain did the Franciscan, Pedro of Aragon, point out the probability of a schism if the Pope should forsake the seat of the Apostles. The supplications of the Romans, the warnings

* Before he left Avignon, Urban V. had sent directions that the neglected gardens of the Vatican should be put in order, Theiner, *Cod. dipl.*, ii., 430. For an account of the work of restoration, undertaken in the Vatican and the Lateran, see *Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité*, 22 Mai, 1880, and *Archivio della Soc. Rom.*, vi., 13, 14. The walls of the Leonine city were also at this time repaired, Adinolfi, i., 130.

† In the years 1368 and 1369 Urban V. received in Rome the Emperor Charles IV., Queen Joanna of Naples, the King of Cyprus, and the Greek Emperor, John Palæologus. Stephen of Bosnia was also expected in the Eternal City. See Theiner, *Mon. Hung.*, ii., 91, 92.

‡ See the testimony of the Pope himself in his letter to the Roman people, in Raynaldus, *ad an.*, 1370 n., 19. Also Froissart, ix., 49-51.

§ Reumont, *Briefe*, 19. See *Gesch. Roms.*, ii., 950 *et seq.*, 956 *et seq.* Regarding the really useful work accomplished by Urban during his sojourn in Italy, see l'Epinois, 327-337.

of Petrarch, and St. Bridget's prediction that he would die when he left Italy, were unavailing to turn Urban V. from his purpose. To the great sorrow of all true friends of the Papacy and the Church, he went to Avignon, where he shortly died (December 19, 1370). When Petrarch heard the tidings he wrote: "Urban would have been reckoned amongst the most glorious of men, if he had caused his dying bed to be laid before the Altar of St. Peter and had there fallen asleep with a good conscience, calling God and the world to witness that if ever the Pope had left this spot it was not his fault, but that of the originators of so shameful a flight."* With the exception of this weakness, Urban V. was one of the best of the Popes, and his resistance to the moral corruption of the day is worthy of all honour, even though he was unable completely to efface the traces of the former disorders.†

The period was in many ways a most melancholy one. The prevailing immorality exceeded anything that had been witnessed since the tenth century. Upon a closer inquiry into the causes of this state of things, we shall find that the evil was in great measure due to the altered conditions of civilized life. Commercial progress, facilities of intercourse, the general well-being and prosperity of all classes of society in Italy, France, Germany and the Low Countries, had greatly increased during the latter part of the thirteenth century. Habits of life changed rapidly, and became more luxurious and pleasure-seeking. The

* Geiger, *Petrarca*, 179.

† Gieseler, ii., 3, 114. Froissart (vi., 504; see viii., 55) speaks very highly of Urban V. German chroniclers praise this Pope in the warmest terms. One of the *Chronicles of Mayence* (*Deutsche Städtechroniken*, xviii., 172) says of him: "Fuit lux mundi, et via veritatis, amator justitiæ, recedens a malo et timens Deum." See *Limburg. Chronik*, 51 and 59.

clergy of all degrees, with some honourable exceptions, went with the current.* Fresh wants necessitated additional resources, and some of the Popes (as, for example, John XXII. and Clement VI.) adopted those financial measures of which we have already spoken. Gold became the ruling power everywhere. Alvaro Pelayo, speaking as an eye-witness, says that the officials of the Papal Court omitted no means of enriching themselves. No audience was to be obtained, no business transacted without money, and even permission to receive Holy Orders had to be purchased by presents.† The same evils, on a smaller scale, prevailed in most of the episcopal palaces. The promotion of unworthy and incompetent men, and the complete neglect of the obligation of residence, were the results of this system. The synods, indeed, often urged this obligation, but the example of those in high places counteracted their efforts. The consequent want of supervision is in itself enough to explain the decay of discipline in the matter of the celibacy of the clergy, though the unbridled immorality, which kept pace with the increasing luxury of the age, had here also led many astray.‡

Urban V., himself a saintly man, attacked these abuses with energy and skill; he clearly saw that the reformation of the clergy was the first thing to be attended to, and took vigorous measures, not only against heretical teachers§, but also against immoral and simoniacal ecclesiastics and idle monks. He enforced the rule regarding the holding of

* Schwab, 38, 39. See Magnan, 139 *et seq.*, and Cipolla, 157.

† Alvar. Pelag., lib. ii., art. 15.

‡ Schwab, 39, 40, 53. See also Hammerich, 129 *et seq.*, 133 *et seq.*, 164, and Fr. H. S. Denifle, Taulers Bekehrung (Strassburg, 1879), 131-133.

§ See Raynaldus, ad an., 1363, n. 27; 1365, n. 17; 1368, n. 16-18; 1369, n. 12, 13; 1370, n. 16.

Provincial Councils, which had long been neglected, put a stop to the disgraceful malpractices of the Advocates and Procurators of the Roman Court, and conferred benefices only on the deserving.* He wished his Court to be a pattern of Christian conduct, and, therefore, watched carefully over the morals of his surroundings. He was fearless wherever he believed the interests of God to be concerned, and, although of a yielding disposition, showed an amount of decision in maintaining the rights and liberties of the Church, which astonished all who knew him. The luxurious life at Avignon was distasteful to him, and furnished one strong reason for his journey to Rome. He was free from any taint of nepotism, and induced his father to give up a pension which the King of France had granted him; justice was his aim in all things; he was punctual in holding Consistories; all business, especially such as concerned the affairs of the poor, was promptly despatched, he kept strict order in his Court, and put down all fraud and oppression.† During his sojourn in Italy, Urban also occupied himself with ecclesiastical reforms, one of which was that of the celebrated Abbey of Monte Casino.‡

The weakness of Urban V. in so speedily abandoning

* Christophe, ii., 266-269. Magnan, 147.

† Schwab, 18.

‡ Baluze, i., 389, 390. L. Tosti, *Storia della badia di Monte Casino* (Naples, 1843), iii., 54-61. In reference to such Popes as Benedict XII. and Urban V., the austere Ægidius of Viterbo wrote: * "Si urbis et Romanarum ecclesiarum ruinas inspicias, hoc exilii tempus noctem dixeris, si mores sanctitatemque pontificum diem appellandum existimabis." *Hist. viginti sæculor.*, Cod. C., 8, 19f, 261 of the Bibl. Angelica at Rome. The Avignon Popes, who were so active in the cause of missions, also did much for the promotion of learning, especially for the Universities. On this subject the reader may refer to the work of Fr. H. Denifle, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*, Band i. (Berlin, 1885).

Rome was visited on Gregory XI. (1370-1378), a Pontiff distinguished for learning, piety, modesty, and purity of life. In his time, the spirit of Italian nationality rose up against the French Papacy. The great mistake which had been made in entrusting the government of the States of the Church almost exclusively to Provençals, strangers to the country and to its people, was sternly avenged. A national movement ensued, the effects of which still survive in Italy, and which produced a general uprising of the Italians against the French.

The Republic of Florence, once the staunchest ally of the Holy See, now took the lead in opposition "to the evil Pastors of the Church," and in July, 1375, associated itself with Bernabo Visconti, the old enemy of the Apostolic See. Unfurling a red banner, on which shone the word, "Liberty," in golden letters, the Florentines called upon all who were dissatisfied with the rule of the Papal Legates to arise. The preponderance of Frenchmen amongst the governors in the States of the Church was, no doubt, in some degree the cause of the ready response made to this appeal. Still, the most loyal adherent of Gregory XI., St. Catherine of Siena, denounces the conduct of the "evil Pastors," and urges the Pope to proceed vigorously against those "who poison and devastate the garden* of the Church." It would, however, be unfair to adopt the tone of the majority of Italian chroniclers and historians, and lay all the blame on the Papal Legates. "The policy of most of the Italian states," to quote the words of one thoroughly conversant with this period,† "was infected with that same disease of self-

* See Tommaseo, iii., 114, 159 *et seq.* St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, passes a similar severe judgment in his *Chronicon*, t. xxii., c. i., § 1.

† Reumont, ii., 967; see iii., 1, 26, 482, and Christophe, ii., 313.

seeking and duplicity, of which the Legates were accused, while the mode of government in the princely Castles and in the Republics was incomparably more oppressive than in the Papal dominions. Some of these Legates were among the most distinguished servants of the Church of that age, but they all shared in the Original Sin of foreign nationality, and did not understand the Italians, who, on the other hand, found it convenient to attribute to others their own faults."

The behaviour of the Florentines towards Gregory XI. was closely connected with the internal affairs of the Republic. A numerous party in Florence, to whom the increased authority of the dominant Guelph section of the nobles was obnoxious, extremely disliked the strengthening of the territorial power of the Pope. Dreading a diminution of Florentine influence in Central Italy, they adroitly made use of the errors of the Papal governors to stir up the States of the Church.* Their efforts were successful beyond all expectation. In the November and December of 1375, Montefiascone, Viterbo, Citta di Castello, Narni, and Perugia rose in revolt, soon to be followed by Assisi, Spoleto, Ascoli, Civita Vecchia, Forlì, and Ravenna, and before two months had passed, the March of Ancona, the Romagna, the Duchy of Spoleto, in short, the whole of the States of the Church were in open insurrection. The power of the revolutionary torrent is strikingly shown by the defection of Barons like Bertrando d'Alidosio, the Vicar Apostolic of Imola, and Rodolfo da Varano, who had been numbered

* Reumont, *Briefe*, 27, 28. Reumont's view is supported by many documents in the Florentine Archives, which A. Gherardi has published as an appendix to his treatise: *La guerra dei Fiorentini con P. Gregorio XI. detta la guerra degli Oito Santi*, (Arch. St. Ital., Serie iii., Vol. 5, 6, 7, and 8).

among the most devoted adherents of the Pope.* The Florentines, not yet content, made constant efforts to gain the few cities which still resisted the Revolution, and, where letters and emissaries failed to accomplish this object, proceeded to more forcible measures.†

Consternation reigned in Avignon; Gregory XI., timid by nature, was deeply shocked and alarmed by the evil tidings from Italy. Fearing that the cities which still remained true to him would also join the standard of revolt, he endeavoured to make terms with his opponents, but in vain; the Florentines had no desire for peace, especially when they had succeeded in inducing the powerful city of Bologna, the "pearl of the Romagna," to turn against the Pope.‡

* Sugenheim, 302, 303. See A. Sansi, *Storia del comune di Spoleto* (Foligno, 1879), i., 154. In August, 1375, Gregory XI. feared that the City of Lucca would also join the enemies of the Church; see his * Letter to Lucca in Appendix No. 3, from the Original in the Archives at Lucca.

† Gherardi, *loc. cit.*, v., 2, 58. See Appendix No. 5. * Gregory XI. at Osimo, 1377, Febr. 12; Archives at Osimo.

‡ The * *Invectiva contra Bononienses, qui rebellarunt se ecclesiæ* (19 March, 1376) refers to Bologna's revolt. Cod. 3121, f. 187a-188b, of the Court Library at Vienna. It says: "Recordare Bononia quid acciderit tibi, intueri et respice opprobrium tuum magnum. O quantum facinus commisisti et in quanto tuam gloriam super omnes totius seculi nationes magnificam vituperio posuisti;" and in another place: "Tu nosti, si bene consideras, quam suave sit jugum ecclesiæ et levissimum onus ejus." The author of this Invective, in his devotion to the Papacy, says of the Florentines: "Ipsi vero servitutis arborem plantaverunt, de qua fingunt alios fructus debere colligere libertatis." In the same Vienna MS. we find, f. 151a, a fragment of a letter from Ricardus de Saliceto, legum doctor de Bononia, d.d. Bononiæ, vii. Junii, 1376, to Gregory XI., endeavouring to persuade the Pope to show

In face of the reckless proceedings of his enemies, Gregory XI. believed the time had come when even a pacific Pontiff must seriously think of war. A sentence accordingly went forth, which, as time proved, was terrible in its effects and in many respects doubtless too severe. The citizens of Florence were excommunicated, an interdict was laid upon the city, Florence, with its inhabitants and possessions, was declared to be outlawed.* Gregory XI. came to the unfortunate decision of opposing force by force, and sending the wild Breton mercenaries, who were then at Avignon with their captain, Jean de Malestroit, to Italy, under the command of the fierce Cardinal Legate, Robert of Geneva.† War was declared between the last French Head of the Church and the Republic of Florence.

No one more deeply bewailed these sad events than St. Catherine of Siena, a young and lowly nun, who exercised a wonderful influence over the hearts of her contemporaries, as the ministering angel of the poor in their corporal and spiritual necessities, the heroic nurse of the plague-stricken, and the mighty preacher of penance. This simple maiden, who is one of the most marvellous figures in the history of the world, clearly perceived the faults on both sides in this terrible strife, and "in heartstirring and heartwinning

mercy, and seeking to excuse the Bolognese: "*Nunquam a sancta ecclesia nec sanctitate vestra recesserunt, recedere etiam non intendunt, sed a diabolicis ministris et adversariis.*"

* Raynaldus, ad an. 1376, n. 1-6. Capecelatro, 108. Lünig, Cod. dipl. i., 1087-1093. Charles IV. on the 5th April also placed the Florentines under the ban of the Empire. See *Deutsche Reichstagsacten*, i., note 92.

† See Ricotti, *Storia delle Compag. di ventura*, ii., 160; l'Epinois 351, and **Tabula gentium armorum in servitio papæ et Roberti cardinalis Gebennensis legati apostolici in Italia*. Cod. lat. 4190, f. 26^b-33 of the National Library in Paris.

words" spoke out her convictions to all, even to the most powerful. As the true Bride of Him who came to bring peace to the world, she constantly urged peace and reconciliation upon the opposing parties. "What is sweeter than peace?" she wrote to Niccolo Soderini, one of the most influential citizens of Florence; "it was the last will and testament which Jesus Christ left to His disciples, when He said, 'You shall not be known as My disciples by working miracles, nor by foretelling the future, nor by great holiness shown forth in all your actions, but only if you shall live together in charity and peace and love.' So great is my grief at this war which will destroy so many among you, body and soul, that I would readily, if it were possible, give my life a thousand times to stop it." *

The letters addressed by St. Catherine to Pope Gregory XI. are unique in their kind. She looks at everything from the highest point of view, and does not scruple to tell the Pope the most unwelcome truths, without, however, for a moment forgetting the reverence due to the Vicar of Christ. "You are indeed bound," she says in one of these letters, "to win back the territory which has been lost to the Church; but you are even more bound to win back all the lambs which are the Church's real treasure, and whose loss will truly impoverish her, not indeed in herself, for the Blood of Christ cannot be diminished, but the Church loses a great adornment of glory which she receives from her virtuous and obedient children. It is far better to part with a temporal treasure than with one which is eternal. Do what you can; when all that is possible has been done,

* Tommaseo, iii., 13, 14. B. Veratti, in the *Opuscoli relig. lett. e morali* (Serie ii., t. viii., 185-204 [Modena, 1866]) draws attention to a MS. of the letters of St. Catherine belonging to the *Confraternità Modenese della SS.ma Annunziata*, which is very superior to that used by Tommaseo.

you are excused in the sight of God and of men. You must strike them with the weapons of goodness, of love, and of peace, and you will gain more than by the weapons of war. And when I inquire of God what is the best for your salvation, for the restoration of the Church, and for the whole world, there is no other answer but the word, Peace, Peace! For the love of the crucified Saviour, Peace."* "Be valiant and not fearful," St. Catherine entreats after the revolt of Bologna; "answer God who calls you to come and to fill and defend the place of the glorious Pastor St. Peter, whose successor you are. Raise the standard of the Holy Cross, for as, according to the saying of the Apostle St. Paul, we are made free by the Cross, so by the exaltation of this standard which appears before me as the consolation of Christendom, shall we be delivered from discord, war and wickedness, and those who have gone astray shall return to their allegiance. Thus doing you shall obtain the conversion of the Pastors of the Church. Implant again in her heart the burning love that she has lost. She is pale through loss of blood which has been drained by insatiable devourers.† But take courage and come, O Father; let not the servants of God, whose hearts are heavy with longing, have still to wait for you. And I, poor and miserable that I am, cannot wait longer; life seems death to me while I see and hear that God is so dishonoured. Do not let yourself be kept from peace by what has come to pass in Bologna, but come. I tell you that ravening wolves will lay their heads in your lap like gentle lambs, and beseech you to have pity on them, O Father."‡

* Tommaseo, iii., 173-4. Capecelatro-Conrad, 100.

† Awful words, which recall the expressions of Dante and Alvaro Pelayo, quoted *supra*, p. 72.

‡ Tommaseo, iii., 165. Reumont, Briefe, 25, 26.

With like freedom did Catherine point out to the rulers of Florence that they owed obedience to the Church, even if her pastors failed in the performance of their duties. "You know well that Christ left us His Vicar for the salvation of our souls, for we cannot find salvation anywhere save in the mystical body of the Church, whose Head is Christ and whose members we are. He who is disobedient to the Christ on earth has no share in the inheritance of the Blood of the Son of God, for God has ordained that by his hand we should be partakers of this Blood and of all the Sacraments of the Church which receive life from this Blood. There is no other way, we can enter by no other door, for He who is Very Truth says, 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.' He who walks in this way is in the truth and not in falsehood. This is the way of hatred of sin, not the way of self-love which is the source of all evil. You see then, my dear sons, that he who like a corrupt member resists the Holy Church and our Father, the Christ upon earth, lies under sentence of death. For as we demean ourselves towards him, whether honouring him or disobeying him, so do we demean ourselves towards Christ in Heaven. I say it to you with the deepest sorrow, by your disobedience and persecution you have deserved death and the wrath of God. There can nothing worse happen to you than the loss of His grace; human power is of little avail where divine power is wanting, and he watcheth in vain that keepeth the city, unless the Lord keep it. Many indeed think that they are not offending God but serving Him, when they persecute the Church and her Pastors, and say they are bad and do nothing but harm; yet I tell you that even if the Pastors were incarnate devils and the Pope the same, instead of a good and kind Father, we must be obedient and submissive to him, not for his

own sake, but as the Vicar of the Lord in obedience to God." *

The words, alas ! fell on a barren soil, St. Catherine soon perceived to her great sorrow that the Florentines, who had sent her to negotiate their terms of peace at Avignon (June, 1376), had no real desire to come to an understanding with the Pope.† For those who now held sway in Florence intended to bring the Church to such straits that her temporal power would disappear, and this not from any lofty ideal as to the higher interests of the Church, but in order that the Pope should be without the means of punishing them.‡ The peace, with which the Saint of Siena saw that the fulfilment of the dearest wish of her heart—the Pope's return to Rome—was closely connected, seemed more distant than ever. But St. Catherine did not lose courage. During her sojourn at Avignon she unceasingly implored the Pope to yield and to let mercy prevail over justice ; not content with this, she desired to lay the axe to the root, in order to remove the evil thoroughly. She now urged him by word of mouth, as she had already done in her letters, to undertake the reformation of the clergy. The worldly-minded Cardinals were amazed at the plain speaking of this nun. She told the Pope of his failings, especially his inordinate regard for his relations. All Avignon was in a state of excitement ; many would have been glad to crush her, but they feared the Pope who had taken her under his protection.§ She loudly complained that at the Papal Court, which ought to have been a Paradise of virtue, her nostrils were assailed

* Tommaseo, iii., 165, 166. Reumont, Briefe, 29,30. Hase, Cat. von Siena, 190.

† Capecelatro, 109 *et seq.*, 114.

‡ Hase, Cat. von Siena, 135.

§ Capecelatro, 118.

by the odours of hell.* It is greatly to the honour of Gregory that St. Catherine could venture to speak thus plainly, and equally to her honour that she did so speak.

St. Catherine's zeal for reform was even surpassed by that with which she endeavoured to bring about the return of the Pope to Rome. She laboured with the greatest ardour for the realization of this project, which lay very near her heart, in the first place on account of the relations then existing between Rome and Italy, and the longing desire of all Italians. But her strongest motive was her solemn conviction that the Chief Pastoral Office in the Church ought to be closely associated with the City, which the blood of the Apostles and of countless martyrs had hallowed. She by no means overlooked the other advantages of the ancient abode of the Cæsars, but her devout enthusiasm—herein widely differing from that of Petrarch—was kindled by the vision of Rome, as the Holy City born again and ennobled in Christ. She writes of Rome, as a "garden watered with the blood of martyrs, which still flows there and calls on others to follow them,"† and it was her desire to make her great by restoring to her her choicest ornament, the Throne of the Apostles. Equally earnest was her desire to restore the fallen power of the Vicar of Christ; and, fully persuaded that in no other city on earth could the Papacy flourish as in Rome,‡ she gave herself no rest, until she had undone the work of Philip the Fair.

Meanwhile the aspect of affairs in Italy had become more and more threatening to the Papacy. Besides Rome, only Cesena, Orvieto, Ancona, Osimo, and Jesi, had remained true to the Pope, and the rebels had left no means untried

* Acta Sanctorum, April iii., 891.

† Tommaso, iv., 252, 253.

‡ Capecelatro, 129 *et seq.*, 155, 214, 215.

to shake the allegiance of these places.* Rightly judging that the attitude of the Eternal City must have a decisive influence, they laboured especially to induce the Romans to rebel. But happily for Gregory, the violent letters of the Florentine Chancellor, Coluccio Salutato, urging them to rise against "the barbarians, the French robbers, and the flattering priests,"† were unheeded. It was, however, impossible for Rome to continue absolutely uninfluenced by the general insurrectionary movement, and a party arose there which threatened that if Gregory put off his return to Italy, an antipope should be elected. The great excitement which reigned throughout the States of the Church, is proved by the fact that many of the inferior clergy in the revolted Provinces joined the insurrection, and incited the members of their flocks to expel the Papal officials.‡

Since the days of Frederick II. the Papacy had never been in such imminent peril, for it now seemed on the point of losing its historical position in Italy, and even of being permanently banished by the Italians themselves to Avignon.§ St. Bridget had, many years before, expressed her fear that, unless Gregory XI. soon returned to Italy, he would forfeit not only his temporal, but also his spiritual || authority, and this fear seemed on the point of realization.

* See Gherardi, *loc. cit.*, v., 2, 72 and 79. Ciavarini, i., 88.

† See in Appendix No. 4* the letter from the Florentine archives addressed by the Florentines to the Romans on the 4th January, 1376.

‡ Fanciulli, *Osservaz. critiche sopra le antichità cristiane di Cingoli*, i., 447 *et seq.* Sugenheim, 303, 305.

§ Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 449. Kraus, 469.

|| Revelat. S. Brigittæ, cap. 143. See Hammerich, 171 *et seq.*, 189.

The restoration of the Papal residence to Rome was the only possible remedy.

Gregory XI. had long entertained the idea of going to Rome, but the influences which detained him in France had as yet been too strong; his venerated father, Count de Beaufort, his mother, his four sisters, his King, his Cardinals, and his own repugnance towards a country whose language was unknown to him,* were all so many hindrances in the way. If the sickly and timid Pontiff at last overcame the pressure put upon him by those around him, and by the French King, who sent his own brother, the Duke of Anjou, to Avignon,† this result is due to the burning words of St. Catherine of Siena. On the 13th September, 1376, Gregory XI. left Avignon for Genoa, travelling by way of Marseilles. At Genoa, St. Catherine succeeded in counteracting all the attempts made to induce him to turn back. Fearful storms delayed the voyage to Italy, and in consequence he only reached Corneto on the 5th December. The inhabitants of this ancient Etruscan City went forth to meet the Pope when he landed, carrying olive branches in their hands, and singing the *Te Deum*.‡

Gregory XI. remained here five weeks, principally on

* Hase, *Cat. von Siena*, 140.

† "Omnes cardinales de lingua ista," wrote Cristoforo di Placenza from Avignon on the 17th July, 1376, "sunt repugnantes, patres et fratres illud idem, et audio quod dux Andegavensis venit ad impediendum motum si poterit," Osio, i., 183.

‡ Petrus Amelius narrates the journey of the Pope in a very bad poem, which has often been printed (Muratori, iii., 2, 690, 704. Ciaconius, ii., 576, 585. Duchesne, *Card. Franc.*, t. ii., p. 437 *et seq.* Bzovius ad an. 1376, n. 31 *et seq.*). See A. Perruzzi, *Storia d'Ancona* (Pesaro, 1835), ii., 102; Herquet, 63 *et seq.*, and the *Report of Cristoforo di Piacenza of 13 Dec., 1376 (Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, E. xxv, 3, fasc. 1.). Another unpublished account of this journey, written by Bertrandus Boyssetus, is, according to Baluze (i., 1196), preserved in the Paris Library.

account of inconclusive negotiations with the inhabitants of the Eternal City, whom the Florentines were ceaselessly inciting to revolt.* The practical Romans, however, came to terms with the Pope's plenipotentiaries, and on the 21st December, 1376, an agreement was concluded which enabled him to continue his journey. He left Corneto on the 13th January, 1377, and on the 14th landed at Ostia and went up the Tiber to St. Paul's, whence on the 17th, accompanied by a brilliant retinue, he made his entry into the City of St. Peter.†

The conclusion of the unnatural exile of the Papacy in France was a turning point in the history of the Church, as well as in that of Rome. The spell with which Philip the Fair had bound the ecclesiastical power was broken; a French Pope had set himself free. The gratitude of the world was assured to him, and that of Rome could not be wanting. Yet Gregory XI. found no rest in the Eternal City, where anarchy had taken such deep root that the Florentines found no difficulty in stirring up fresh troubles. Hardly had he established himself in the Vatican, when the conflict regarding the limits of his authority in the City broke out anew, and the treaty concluded between the Pope and the Romans proved but a false peace.‡ Yet more melancholy were the experiences of the well-meaning Pontiff in regard to general affairs. He had, as he himself wrote to the Florentines,§ left his beautiful native land, a

* As again on the 25th December, 1376; see *Salutatus*, Epist. i., 58, 59.

† The Pope chose to go by water, because the way by land was not safe. *Cronichette antiche*, 210.

‡ Reumont, ii., 1005 *et seq.*

§ * * * Letter of July 15th, 1377 (Appendix No. 6), in the Archives at Florence. Gregory XI. expresses himself in similar terms in a letter to the Bishop of Urbino, dated Jan. 21, 1378. Rome. Copy in the Cod. 915, f. 391, 394 of the Méjanès Library at Aix.

grateful and devout people, and many other delights, and, notwithstanding the opposition or the prayers of Kings, Princes and many Cardinals, had hastened to Italy amid great dangers, with great fatigue, and at great cost, fully determined to remedy whatever his servants might have done amiss, ready, for love of peace, to accept conditions little honourable to himself, if only by this means tranquillity might be restored to Italy. To his deep sorrow, all the hopes which he had built on his personal presence in Italy, were disappointed. The improvement expected, not only by the Pope, but also by many discerning contemporaries,* failed to appear. The rebellion had assumed such formidable dimensions, hatred against the rule of the Church seemed to be so interwoven with the sentiment of patriotism, that the evil might be deemed incurable. And the anti-papal feeling was fearfully intensified by the tragical massacre perpetrated at Cesena (February, 1377), by order of the Cardinal of Geneva. This deed of blood was welcome to the Florentines, who now appealed, not only to their allies and to the hesitating Romans, but to many Kings and Princes of Christendom.† While they por-

* *E.g.*, the Mantuan Ambassador Cristoforo di Piacenza; see his *Letter of 13th Dec., 1376, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, etc.

† Gherardi, v., 2, 105, 106; viii., 1, 280-283. I have seen, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, a copy of the letter to the Romans and of their answer, dated 1377, April 17. The bloodshed at Cesena was more or less correctly described and severely blamed by all contemporary historians. The Archbishop of Prague, Johann von Jenzenstein, in his **"Liber de consideratione,"* expatiates in the strongest terms on the "atrocious crime" which the Cardinal of Geneva had perpetrated at Cesena: "*Sed quod horrendum est auditu et lamentabile dictu, universos civitatis hujus habitatores et incolas feritate sua crudeliter interemit,*" Cod. Vatic., 1122, f. 45b. Vatican Library.

trayed the horrors that had taken place in Cesena in the darkest colours, they sought to justify their own attitude and to increase the hatred felt for the Papal cause. In Italy their efforts were very successful, as we learn from a passage in the Chronicle of Bologna, which declares that the people would believe neither in the Pope nor in the Cardinals, because such things had nothing in common with the Faith.*

Gregory XI., whose health had suffered much from the climate, to which he was unaccustomed, and the troubles of the few months he had spent in Rome, left the unquiet city in the end of May for Anagni, where he remained until November. Amid the increasing confusion of affairs and exhaustion of financial† resources, he never lost courage. He well knew that the fortune of war is subject to many vicissitudes, and he had firm confidence in the justice of his cause.‡ The wise policy, with which he had liberally rewarded the loyal, severely punished the irreconcilable, and readily forgiven the repentant, gradually worked a change in his favour.§ He succeeded in reconciling the wealthy City of Bologna to the Church, and winning to his side Rodolfo da Varano, the chief General of the Florentines. The Prefect of Vico, to whom Viterbo was subject,

* Cronica di Bologna, 510.

† See Gregory's ** Appeal to the Queen of Naples, dated [1377] October 12, Anagni, and the * Letter to Pietro Raffini, in Appendix No. 8, both in the MS. of the Méjanes Library at Aix.

‡ *Gregory XI. to Rodolfo da Varano, 1377, July 26. Méjanes Library at Aix and elsewhere.

§ Regarding the reward of the loyal, see l'Epinois, 354. Gherardi, v., 2, 107. Fumi, Orvieto, 561 *et seq.* G. Cecconi, Carte dipl. Osimane (Ancona, 1878), 28 *et seq.* In the * Liber croceus magnus bullar. et privilegior. of the Archives of Ancona I found, f. iii-vb., four Bulls of Gregory XI. of the year 1377, with privileges for this city.

also gave up the Florentine League, which seemed threatened with dissolution. But the people of Florence were not to be influenced by these events, and instead of adopting moderate measures, proceeded to extremities. The conditions proposed to the Pope were such as he could not accept.* Not only did the Republic refuse to restore the confiscated property of the Church and to repeal the Edict against the Inquisition, but it also demanded that all rebels against the Church should remain for six years unpunished in *statu quo*, and should be free to make treaties, even against the Pope and the Church. Such proposals could not really be called conditions of peace; they were, as Gregory XI. justly observed, merely an effort to strengthen revolutionary tyranny and to prepare the way for fresh war.† And yet, in a letter addressed soon afterwards to the Romans, the Florentines had the audacity to complain most bitterly of the Pope as preaching peace with his lips only!‡

It is no wonder that, instead of listening to the mild counsels of St. Catherine of Siena, Gregory XI. vigorously carried on the war with his inexorable opponents, who ended by disregarding even the Interdict.§ He took every means to ensure the publication of his terrible sentence against the Florentines, by which their trade was

* This is the opinion of Gregorovius, the partisan of the Florentines, vi., 3rd ed., 467. The impossibility of acceding to their exorbitant demands is pointed out by Gregory XI. in his * Letter to Cardinal Pierre d'Estaing of Sept. 1, 1377. Anagni. Cod., 915, f. 260, 261, of the Méjanes Library at Aix.

† * Gregory XI. to Florence, 15 July, 1377. State Archives, Florence (Appendix No. 6).

‡ C. Salutatius, Epist., ed. Rigacc., i., 141-143. Vitale, 330, 331.

§ See Cronichette antiche, 212, 213.

most seriously affected, in places such as Venice and Bologna, where it had not yet been promulgated.* If tidings reached him, from countries where this had been done, of a lenient execution of the decree, he at once protested in the strongest terms.† The injury thus inflicted on the national prosperity of the Republic was quite incalculable.‡

The prosecution of the war demanded an immense outlay. The increasing tyranny in the internal government of the Republic, and the insufferable burden laid by the Interdict on the consciences of a religious population, produced a growing desire for peace, which endangered the success of the warlike party.§ Signs of discord became apparent among the confederates.|| Accordingly, when the Bishop of Urbino, as envoy from the Pope, proposed their own ally Bernabo Visconti to the Florentines as umpire, the chiefs of their party did not venture to refuse to appear at the Peace Congress to be held at Sarzana. Early in the year 1378 Bernabo arrived in the city, where ambassadors from most of the Italian powers soon assembled. Gregory XI. had at first been averse to sending a Cardinal to the Congress, but for the sake of peace he finally resolved on this concession,¶ and the Cardinal of Amiens, accompanied by the Archbishops of Pampeluna and Narbonne, accord-

* * Gregory XI. to the Abbot of S. Niccolò at Venice, from the MS. at Aix, given in Appendix No. 7. Regarding Bologna, see Muratori, xviii, 515.

† * Gregory XI. to Pietro Raffini, 26 Dec., 1377. Appendix No. 8.

‡ Stefani, *Istoria*, 145 and 163.

§ See p. 34 of the Introduction.

|| Gherardi, *loc. cit.*, v., 2, 106.

¶ * Gregory XI. to the Bishop of Urbino, 21st January, 1378, Cod. 915 in the Méjanes Library at Aix.

ingly appeared on his behalf. On the 12th of March the negotiations began, to be almost immediately interrupted by the death of the Pope.*

Gregory XI. had returned to Rome from Anagni on the 7th November; the Romans who during his absence had become reconciled to the Papal rule, received him joyfully and delivered to him the contract of peace with Francesco di Vico, prefect of the City.† A little before his death the Pope was able to assure the Romans that the condition of their City had hardly ever been so peaceful as during the preceding winter.‡ The tranquillity of Rome could not, however, deceive Gregory as to the dangers which threatened the Papacy; he knew too well how much was still wanting to a durable settlement of Italian affairs, and he could not but acknowledge that he had failed to carry out the ecclesiastical reform so strongly and so justly urged upon him by St. Catherine. Dark visions hovered round his sick-bed. He seems to have had a foreboding of the schism that was imminent, for, on the 19th of March, 1378, he made arrangements to ensure the speedy and unanimous election of a successor. His health had always been delicate, and on the 27th March he succumbed to the continual agitation he had undergone and to the unfavourable effects of the Italian climate. Gregory XI. was the last Pontiff given by France to the Church.

* The troubles of Urban VI.'s time enabled the Florentines to conclude peace with the Church under more favourable circumstances (28 July, 1378). See *Salutatus*, Epist., ii., 179 *et seq.*, 199 *et seq.* Gherardi, *loc. cit.*, v., ii., 123.

† See ** Despatch of Cristoforo di Piacenza of 15th Nov., 1377. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, E. xxv., 3, fasc. 1.

‡ * Gregory XI. to Cardinal de Lagrange and the Archbishop of Narbonne, 1378, March 2. Appendix No. 9 from the Aix MS.

II.—THE SCHISM AND THE GREAT HERETICAL MOVEMENTS, 1378-1406 (1409).

AFTER an interval of seventy-five years a Conclave again met in Rome, and on its decision depended the question whether or not the injurious predominance of France in the management of the affairs of the Church should continue.* Severe struggles were to be expected, for no slight disunion existed in the Sacred College.

Of the sixteen Cardinals then present in Rome, four only were of Italian nationality. Francesco Tibaldeschi and Giacomo Orsini were Romans, Simone da Borsano and Pietro Corsini, natives respectively of Milan and Florence. These Princes of the Church were naturally desirous that an Italian should occupy the Chair of St. Peter. The twelve foreign or "Ultramontane" Cardinals, of whom one was a Spaniard and the others French, were sub-divided into two parties. The Limousin Cardinals strove for the elevation of a native of their province, the birthplace of the last four Popes. Of the six remaining members of the Sacred College, two were undecided, and the four others, of whom the Cardinal of Geneva was the leader, formed what was called the Gallican faction.

No party accordingly had the preponderance, and a protracted Conclave was to be anticipated. External circumstances, however, led to a different result. Before the Cardinals entered on their deliberations, the Municipal authorities of Rome had besought them to elect a Roman, or at any rate an Italian, and while the Conclave was pro-

* The foregoing history exhibits the ample fulfilment of the prophecy, which declared that the power of France would prove a sharp reed to the Roman Church, piercing the hand of him who leaned upon it (see Bulæus, v., 576; *cf.* Harting, i., note 44).

ceeding, the governors of the districts appeared, and presented the same petition. The populace gathered round the Vatican in the greatest excitement, demanding, with shouts and uproar, the election of a Roman. The Cardinals were compelled to make haste, and as no one of the three parties was sufficiently powerful to carry the day, all united in favour of Bartolomeo Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, a candidate who belonged to no party and seemed in many respects the individual best fitted to rule the Church in this period of peculiar difficulty. He was the worthiest and most capable among the Italian prelates. As a native of Naples, he was the subject of Queen Joanna, whose protection at this crisis was of the greatest importance. A long residence in Avignon had given him the opportunity of acquiring French manners, and ties of equal strength bound him to Italy and to France. On the 8th April, 1378, he was elevated to the supreme dignity, taking the name of Urban VI.*

Great confusion was occasioned by a misunderstanding which occurred after the election. The crowd forcibly broke into the Conclave to see the new Pope, and the Cardinals, dreading to inform them of the election of

* The different accounts of the election of 1378 are very well put together by Hefele, vi., 628-659. Among other more modern works, see the excellent essay of Lindner in the *Histor. Zeitschrift.*, xxviii., 101-127, on which the above description is based, also the same scholar's *Gesch. des deutschen Reichs*, i., 72-81, and Schwab, 97-111. Several of the French Cardinals plainly told Bishop Nicholas of Viterbo that their disunion was one of the principal reasons for Prignano's election. Bishop Nicholas says: "*Ego tunc ivi ad dom. card. S. Angeli, qui breviter respondit mihi, quod Barensis erat electus propter eorum et Lemovicensium miseriam et discordiam.*" Cardinal d'Aigrefeuille expressed himself in similar terms. * Report of Bishop Nicholas of Viterbo of 1 Nov., 1379. *Arm.*, liv., n. 17, f. 74b-75b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Prignano, who was not a Roman, persuaded the aged Cardinal Tibaldeschi to put on the Papal Insignia and allow the populace to greet him. Hardly had this been done, when, apprehensive of what might happen when the deception was discovered, most of the Cardinals sought safety in flight. Finally, confidence was restored by the assurance of the City authorities that Prignano's election would find favour with the people. It is plain then that the election itself was not the result of compulsion on the part of the Roman populace. If, however, the least suspicion of constraint could be attached to it, the subsequent bearing of the Cardinals was sufficient to completely counteract it.* As soon as tranquillity was restored Prignano's election was announced to the people and was followed by his Coronation. All the Cardinals then present in Rome took part in the ceremony,† and thereby publicly acknowledged Urban VI. as the rightful Pope. They assisted him in his ecclesiastical functions and asked him for spiritual favours. They announced his election and Coronation to the Emperor and to Christendom in general by

* Hefele, vi., 658, 659. Bartolomeo di Saliceto in his * *Consilium super facto schismatis* (see Appendix No. 14) says very justly: "Etsi prima electio potest aliquo modo impugnari, quod non video, secunda valet indubitanter et sine scrupulo." The subsequent and perfectly voluntary actions of the Cardinals weigh very heavily in the balance, and for this very reason Cardinal Pietro Corsini afterwards endeavoured to represent them as irrelevant; see his * *Tractatus juris et facti super schisma et initium schismatis in ecclesia Romana tempore Urbani VI., anno 1378*, Cod. 40, D. 4 of the Corsini Library in Rome. I saw a second copy in Cod. 264, NB 3, T. 11, p. 96 *et seq.*, of the Library at Ferrara.

† * "Postea vidi ipsum coronari cum processione solemni et ire ad S. Joannem et redire cum toto populo indifficienter cum omnibus cardinalibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, *etc.*" * Report of Bishop Nicholas of Viterbo, *loc. cit.*, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

letters signed with their own hands, and homage was universally rendered to the new Head of the Church. No member of the Sacred College thought of calling the election in question; on the contrary, in official documents, as well as in private conversations, they all maintained its undoubted validity.*

It cannot, indeed,† be denied that the election of Urban VI. was canonically valid. The most distinguished lawyers of the day gave their deliberate decisions to this effect;‡ but it had taken place under circumstances so peculiar that it was extremely easy to obscure or distort the facts. It was canonical, but it had been brought about only by the dissensions between the different parties, and was agreeable to none. The Cardinals respectively hoped to find a pliable instrument for their wishes and plans in the person of Urban VI. In the event, however, of this hope being disappointed, or of their discords being appeased, it was to be expected that the elected Pontiff would fall a victim to their reconciliation. Without a single genuine adherent in

* See Hefele, vi., 659 *et seq.* Regarding the private utterances of the Cardinals, see Raynaldus, ad an. 1378, n. 13-15, and the passage from the ** Report of Bishop Nicholas of Viterbo, given in the Appendix No. 14.

† Such is the opinion of Lindner, *loc. cit.*, 126. Similarly the most esteemed Catholic writers (Hefele, vi., 653 *et seq.*, Hergenröther, ii., 1, 18; Heinrich, Dogm., Theil, ii., 418, etc.), and many Protestant authors (as Leo, ii., 647; Hinschius, i., 271; and Siebeking, 14, note 3) assert the undoubted validity of Urban VI.'s election. It therefore follows that Urban's successors, Boniface IX., Innocent VII., and Gregory XII., were the only lawful Popes.

‡ Giovanni di Lignano, Baldo di Perugia and Bartolomeo di Saliceto. See Hefele, vi., 645, 652, and Savigny, vi., 232, 268. I may observe in addition to the statement of Savigny, that the Consilium pro Urbano VI. by Bartolomeo di Saliceto is also to be found in *Cod. Vatic., 5608, f. 119-131. In the Appendix No. 14 are some notices regarding the numerous documents in the Roman Archives and Libraries bearing on the Schism.

the College of Cardinals, he might soon see his supporters changed into opponents.*

The new Pope was adorned by great and rare qualities; almost all his contemporaries are unanimous in praise of his purity of life, his simplicity and temperance. He was also esteemed for his learning, and yet more for the conscientious zeal with which he discharged his ecclesiastical duties.† It was said that he lay down to rest at night with the Holy Scriptures in his hand, that he wore a hair-shirt, and strictly observed the fasts of the Church. He was, moreover, experienced in business. When Gregory XI. had appointed him to supply the place of the absent Cardinal Vice-Chancellor, he had fulfilled the duties of the office in an exemplary manner, and had acquired an unusual knowledge of affairs. Austere and grave by nature, nothing was more hateful to him than simony, worldliness, and immorality in any grade of the clergy.‡

It was but natural that the elevation of such a man should call forth the brightest anticipations for the welfare of the Church. Cristoforo di Piacenza, writing to his Sovereign, Lodovico Gonzaga of Mantua, soon after the election of Urban, says: "I am sure that he will rule God's Holy Church well, and I venture to say that she has had no such Pastor for a century and more, for he has no kindred, he is on very friendly terms with the Queen of Naples, he is conversant with the affairs of the world, and is moreover very clear-sighted and prudent."§

* Lindner, *loc. cit.*, I.

† Theod. de Niem, i., I.

‡ *Loc. cit.* See Stefani, 197, ed. App., 330, 331. Lindner, Urban VI., 411 *et seq.* Capecelatro, 203. Siebeking, ii., note 1.

§ See in Appendix No. 11 the text of this remarkable* letter, which I found in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. Cristoforo di Piacenza had at first the most favourable opinion of Urban VI., as his despatch of the 9th April, 1378, testifies (see Appendix No. 10). He was quickly and thoroughly undeceived!

But Urban VI. had one great fault, a fault fraught with evil consequences to himself, and yet more to the Church; he lacked Christian gentleness and charity. He was naturally arbitrary and extremely violent and imprudent,* and when he came to deal with the burning ecclesiastical question of the day, that of reform, the consequences were disastrous.

The melancholy condition of the affairs of the Church at this period is clear from the letters of St. Catherine of Siena. The suggestions of reform which she had made repeatedly and with unexampled courage had unfortunately not been carried out.† Gregory XI. was far too irresolute to adopt energetic measures, and he also attached undue weight to the opinions of his relations, and of the French Cardinals, by whom he was surrounded; moreover, he was fully occupied by the war with Florence, and this was perhaps the chief cause of his inaction. Whether, if longer life had been granted to him, he would really have undertaken the amendment of the clergy, it is impossible to say. One thing is certain, that at the date of the new Pope's accession the work had still to be done.

It is to Urban's honour that he at once took the matter in hand, beginning in the highest‡ circles, where, in the

* Dietrich of Nieheim, an eye-witness of the events we have related above, and a believer in the validity of Urban's election, says (i., 7) that the Cardinals came to the conclusion that the sudden elevation to the supreme dignity had completely turned his head. See the opinions of Froissart, Lionardo Aretino, Tommaso de Acerno, and St. Antoninus of Florence, brought together by Reumont (ii., 1024).

† Capecelatro, 174.

‡ St. Catherine of Siena in her letters constantly reverts to the worldliness of the higher clergy, and her charges are confirmed by all her contemporaries. The Augustinian, Luigi Marsigli, speaks of the Cardinals as the "avari, dissoluti, importuni e sfacciati

opinion of all prudent men, the need was the most urgent. But instead of proceeding with the prudence and moderation demanded by a task of such peculiar difficulty, he suffered himself from the first to be carried away by the passionate impetuosity of his temper. Thus his already unstable position was soon rendered most precarious. The very next day after his coronation he gave offence to many Bishops and Prelates, who were sojourning in Rome, some of them for business, and some without any such reason. When, after Vespers, they paid him their respects in the great Chapel of the Vatican he called them perjurers, because they had left their churches. A fortnight later, preaching in open consistory, he condemned the morals of the Cardinals and Prelates in such harsh and unmeasured terms, that all were deeply wounded. Nor did the Pope rest satisfied with words. His great desire was to eradicate simony, and that all business brought to Rome should be despatched gratuitously, and without presents. This he more especially required from the Cardinals, who were bound to be models to the rest of the clergy. He publicly declared that he would not suffer anything savouring of simony, nor would he grant audience to anyone suspected of this sin. He particularly forbade the Cardinals to accept pensions, considering this practice to be a great hindrance to the peace

Limogini." *Lettera del V., L. Marsigli, p. x.* Most of the Cardinals, according to the *Cronica di Rimini*, 919, had ten or twelve Bishoprics and Abbeys apiece: "e anco tenevano scelerata vita si de la lussuria e di simili modi di mal vivere." Johann von Jenzenstein, Archbishop of Prague, in his "*Liber de consideratione*," sharply condemns the greed and luxury of the Cardinals of his day: "Ecce quam avaris crudelibus nefariis sancta mater ecclesia illis temporibus fuit stipata cardinalibus! Affluebant deliciis quodque desiderabat anima eorum non negabant sibi," *Cod. Vatic., 1122, f. 45, 46, Vatican Library.*

of the Church. He expressed his intention of living as much as possible in Rome, and, as far as in him lay, of dying there.* Urban also issued ordinances against the luxury of the Cardinals, and these measures were no doubt most excellent. Would only that the Pope had proceeded in a less violent and uncompromising manner! He certainly did not take the best way of reforming the worldly-minded Cardinals, when, in the Consistory, he sharply bade one of them be silent, and called out to the others "Cease your foolish chattering!" nor again, when he told Cardinal Orsini that he was a blockhead.† On the contrary, these brutal manners embittered men's minds, and did much to frustrate his well-meant plans and actions.

St. Catherine of Siena was aware of the severity, with which Urban VI. was endeavouring to carry out his reforms, and immediately exhorted and warned him. "Justice without mercy," she wrote to the Pope, "will be injustice rather than justice." "Do what you have to do with moderation," she said in another letter, "and with good-will and a peaceful heart, for excess destroys rather than builds up. For the sake of your Crucified Lord, keep these hasty movements of your nature a little in check."‡ But instead of giving heed to these admonitions, Urban VI. pursued his disastrous course, breaking rather than bending

* Report of Giovanni di Lignano, translated by Papencordt-Höfler, 443, 444. The important passage in the Appendix No. 13 is from Cod. n. 269 of the Library at Eichstätt. For the Pope's efforts in the way of reform see also Rattinger in the *Histor. Jahrb.*, v., 165; F. Grotanelli, *Leggenda min. di St. Cat. da Siena e lettere de' suoi discepoli* (Bologna, 1868), 260, and the "*Liber de consideratione*," by Johann von Jenzenstein, Cod. Vatic. 1122, f. 46, Vatican Library.

† See Hefele, vi., 663, for the authentic proof. Also Siebeking, ii., note 3.

‡ Tommaseo, iv., 64, 466 *et seq.* Hase, 253.

everything that opposed him. Relations between him and the Cardinals became more and more strained, for not one among these luxurious prelates had sufficient humility and patience to endure his domineering proceedings. Scenes of the most painful description frequently occurred, and, considering the incredible imprudence of Urban's conduct, we cannot wonder at his insuccess. Almost immediately after his election, St. Catherine had advised him to counteract the influence of the worldly-minded Frenchmen who formed the majority in the Sacred College, by the nomination of a number of virtuous and conscientious Cardinals, who might assist him with counsel and active support in the arduous duties of his office.* But Urban let precious time go by without adding to their number. Instead of acting, he confined himself to saying, in presence of several of the French Cardinals, that it was his purpose to create a preponderating number of Romans and Italians. An eye-witness relates that at these words the Cardinal of Geneva grew pale and left the Papal presence.†

A revolution in the Sacred College was evidently imminent, when Urban VI. fell out with his political friends, the Queen of Naples and her husband, Duke Otto of Brunswick. He also quarrelled with Count Onorato Gaetani of Fondi.‡ The exasperated Cardinals now knew where to find a staunch supporter. Hardly had the oppressive and unhealthy heats of summer set in at Rome, when the French, one after another, sought leave of absence "for reasons of health." Their place of meeting

* Tommaseo, iv, 67, 68. Capecelatro, 207.

† Thomas de Acerno in Muratori, iii., 2,725. Regarding the immense mistakes made by Urban, see also Cancellieri, *Notizie*, 12.

‡ See Carinci, *Lettere di O. Gaetani*, p. 119. See *Documenti scelti dell' Archivio Gaetani*, Carinci, p. 35 *et seq.*

was Anagni, and it was an open secret in Rome that they were resolved to revolt against a Pope, who had shown them so little regard, and who absolutely refused to transfer once more the Papal residence to France.* If hopes were entertained of an amicable arrangement of differences,† such hopes soon proved delusive. The Schism which had been impending ever since Clement V. had fixed his seat in France, and which had almost broken out in the time of Urban V., and again in that of Gregory XI., ‡ now became a reality.

In vain did the Italian Cardinals, by order of the Pope, propose that the contest should be settled by a General Council; in vain did the most eminent lawyers and statesmen of the day, such as Baldo di Perugia and Coluccio Salutato, maintain the validity of Urban's election;§ in vain did St. Catherine of Siena conjure the rebellious Cardinals, by the Saviour's Precious Blood, not to sever themselves from their Head and from the truth.

The plans of reform entertained by Urban VI. filled the French King, Charles V., with wrath. The free and independent position, which the new Pope had from the first assumed was a thorn in the side of the King, who wished to bring back the Avignon days. Were Urban now to succeed in creating an Italian majority in the Sacred College, the return of the Holy See to its dependence on

* This demand of the Cardinals is expressly mentioned by Urban VI. as cause of the rupture. Raynaldus ad an. 1378, n. 25. See Cronica di Rimini, 920.

† See * Despatch of Cristoforo di Piacenza of the 24th June, 1378. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, Appendix 12.

‡ See Flathe, ii., 41, 42, 44, and *supra* p. 109. How nearly a Schism occurred under Urban V. is shown by the * Report of Francesco de Aguzzonis, Cod. Vatic. 4927, f. 146, Vatican Library.

§ See Savigny, vi., 208-228. Schulte, 257 *et seq.*, 275 *et seq.*

France would be greatly deferred, if not indeed altogether prevented. Charles V therefore secretly encouraged the Cardinals,* promising them armed assistance, even at the cost of a cessation of hostilities with England, if they would take the final step, before which they still hesitated. Confident in his powerful support, the thirteen Cardinals assembled at Anagni, on the 9th August, 1378, published a manifesto, declaring Urban's election to have been invalid, as resulting from the constraint exercised by the Roman populace, who had risen in insurrection, and proclaiming as a consequence the vacancy of the Holy See.

On the 20th September they informed the astonished world that the true Pope had been chosen in the person of Robert of Geneva, now Clement VII.† The great Papal Schism (1378-1417), the most terrible of all imaginable calamities, thus burst upon Christendom, and the very centre of its unity became the occasion of the division of the Church.

It is not easy to form a correct judgment as to the proportion of blame due respectively to the Pope and the Cardinals. It would be at once unjust and historically incorrect to make Urban VI. alone responsible; indeed, the principal share of guilt does not fall upon him.‡ Reform

* See Raynaldus, ad an. 1378, n. 46. Hefele, vi., 666. Gottlob, 129, Hartwig, i., 44. I will hereafter publish the important * Report of Francesco de Aguzzonis, (Cod. Vatic. 4927, f. 146, Vatican Library).

† In the Cathedral of Fondi there is still to be seen the half-shattered marble chair, on which the anti-pope (il papa di Fondi, Cronica di Bologna, 519; Cronica di Pisa, Muratori, xv., 1075; Istoria Napolit., *ibid.*, xxiii., 223) seated himself after his election. In the little town of Atella in Southern Italy is a mural painting relating to the Schism. See Stanislaò d' Aloe, La Madonna di Atella nello Scisma d' Italia (Napoli, 1853).

‡ See the observation of Victor le Clerc, Hist. Litt., T. xxiv., 30.

was a matter of the most urgent necessity, and Urban VI. was performing a sacred duty when he boldly attacked existing corruptions.* If he overstepped the bounds of prudence, the fault, though a serious one, can readily be accounted for by the amount of the evil. Urban made this error worse by deferring the creation of new and worthy Cardinals until too late.

It must also be observed that the measure of reform undertaken by the Pope involved a complete breach with the fatal Avignon period, and this not only in an ecclesiastical, but also in a political sense.

If Urban sternly dismissed a certain number of the Cardinals and sent them back to their Bishoprics, his aim in this was not merely the removal of great and mischievous abuses, but also the diminution of French influence in the Papal Court, and of the pressure in favour of a return to Avignon. With the same objects in view the Pope purposed to choose Cardinals from all the different nations of Christendom. He wished to re-assert that universal character of the Roman Church which had been so seriously impaired during the Avignon period; hence his friendly attitude towards England. With a clear-sightedness surpassing that of any of his contemporaries, this energetic Pontiff perceived that if it would again fulfil its proper destiny, the Papacy must not belong to any one nation, and must pass beyond the narrow circle of French interests. Urban's

* Johann von Jenzenstein, in his * "Liber de consideratione," expresses this opinion, but blames Urban's imprudence. "Certe, imo juste fecisti," he says, addressing the Pope, "condemnabas simoniacos, avaritiam enervabas, superbos quantum in te fuit contundebas, cenas turpes et convivia submovebas, voluisti ut ambularent cum Deo tuo. Bene fecisti, juste egisti, non est qui dicat tibi secus, tamen pace tua dicam non satis caute factum est." Cod. Vatic. 1122, f. 46, Vatican Library.

programme consisted in its liberation from the excessive influence of France.* Resistance was inevitable, and its very violence shows the progress the evil had already made.

The guilt of the worldly-minded Cardinals far outweighed that of the Pope. By his want of charity and violence of temper, Urban doubtless gave them just cause for complaint. But instead of bearing with patience the weaknesses of the Pontiff they had chosen, instead of temperately opposing his unjust, or apparently unjust, measures, goaded on by the French King, who felt that his influence in ecclesiastical affairs was seriously threatened, they proceeded at once to extremities. They were bound to pay honour and obedience to the lawful Head of the Church, whose position they had for months fully recognized, and yet they took occasion from his personal failings to declare his election invalid, and, by the appointment of an Antipope, to cause a Schism in the Church.† The conduct of the Cardinals is absolutely inexcusable.‡ They constituted themselves at once accusers, witnesses, and judges; they sought to remove a less evil by the infinitely worse remedy of a double election and a Schism. St. Catherine of Siena's scathing words were fully justified. "I have learned," she wrote to Urban, "that those devils in human form § have

* This is the well-founded opinion of Lindner (Urban VI., 417). See Höfler's note to Papencordt, 441, and Teipel's article in the *Tüb. theol. Quartalschrift*, 1859, p. 157-160.

† See Lederer, *Torquemada*, 4-7, and Höfler in the *Sitzungsbericht. d. böhm. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaft*, 1866, p. 42.

‡ See Raumer, 18, and André, *Mon. pontif.*, 491.

§ So the revolted Cardinals are often called in contemporary documents and chronicles, and the expression also occurs at a later date; see, for example, Broglio's * *Chronik*. (Tonini, v., 2), in *Cod. D.*, iii., 48, f. 31b, in the Gambalunga Library at Rimini.

made an election. They have not chosen a Vicar of Christ, but an Anti-Christ; never will I cease to acknowledge you, my dear Father, as the Representative of Christ upon earth. Now forward, Holy Father! go without fear into this battle, go with the armour of divine love to cover you, for that is a strong defence."

No less pointed are the words addressed by the Saint to the recreant Princes of the Church. "Alas! to what have you come, since you did not act up to your high dignity! You were called to nourish yourselves at the breast of the Church; to be as flowers in her garden, to shed forth sweet perfume; as pillars to support the Vicar of Christ and his Bark; as lamps to serve for the enlightening of the world and the diffusion of the Faith. You yourselves know if you have accomplished that, to which you were called, and which it was your bounden duty to do. Where is your gratitude to the Bride who has nourished you? Instead of being her shield you have persecuted her. You are convinced of the fact that Urban VI. is the true Pope, the Sovereign Pontiff, elected lawfully, not through fear, but by divine inspiration far more than through your human co-operation. So you informed us, and your words were true. Now you have turned your backs on him, as craven and miserable knights, afraid of your own shadow. What is the cause? The poison of selfishness which destroys the world! You, who were angels upon earth, have turned to the work of devils, You would lead us away to the evil which is in you, and seduce us into obedience to Anti-Christ. Unhappy men! You made truth known to us, and now you offer us lies. You would have us believe that you elected Pope Urban through fear; he who says this, lies. You may say, why do you not believe us? We, the electors, know the truth better than you do. But I answer, that you yourselves have shown me how you deal with truth. If I look at your lives,

I look in vain for the virtue and holiness, which might deter you, for conscience sake, from falsehood. What is it that proves to me the validity of the election of Messer Bartolomeo, Archbishop of Bari, and now in truth Pope Urban VI.? The evidence was furnished by the solemn function of his Coronation, by the homage which you have rendered him, and by the favours which you have asked and received from him. You have nothing but lies to oppose to these truths. O ye fools ! a thousand times worthy of death ! In your blindness you perceive not your own shame. If what you say were as true as it is false, must you not have lied, when you announced that Urban VI. was the lawful Pope ? Must you not have been guilty of simony, in asking and receiving favours from one, whose position you now deny ? ”*

* This admirable letter, given by Tommaseo, iv., 150-161 ; *cf.* p. 167, Reumont's Translation, ii. (1034, 1035), is addressed in the first instance to the Italian Cardinals, but St. Catherine's inspired words equally apply to the others. In connection with this letter, it is interesting to read that of Coluccio Salutato to the " Ultramontane " Cardinals. " Quis not videt," says the celebrated Chancellor, " vos non verum Papam quærere, sed solum Pontificem natione Gallicum exoptare." After exposing the contradictory statements made by the Cardinals, and refuting their assertion that the election had taken place under the influence of fear, he puts himself for a moment in their position, and continues : " Malum fuit per metum electionem Summi Pontificis celebrare ; pejus confirmare jam factum ; pessimum autem exhibere reverentiam confirmato. Turpe fuit non verum Pontificem in Christi Vicarium fidelibus exhibere ; annuntiare litteris turpius ; turpissimum autem rei veritatem cum taciturnitate tanti temporis occultare. Periculosum fuit in sede intrudere qui per ostium non intravit ; tolerare tam diu periculosius fuit intrusum, sed omnium periculorum periculosissimum est Pontifici Pontificem inculcare," Salutatus, Epist., ed. Rigacc., i, 18-39. See also Lignano's warning in Raynaldus, ad an. 1378, n. 30, and the opinion of the Carthusians regarding the extinction of the Schism, in Tromby, vii., cxi.

Such was indeed the case. The outbreak of the schism was chiefly due to the worldly Cardinals, stirred up by France, and longing to return thither.* This condition of things was a result of the disastrous Avignon epoch, which accordingly is ultimately responsible for the terrible calamity which fell upon Christendom.† "From France," as a modern ecclesiastical historian‡ well observes, "the evil proceeded, and France was the chief, and, in fact, essentially the only support of the schism, for other nations were involved in it merely by their connection with her. But the Gallican Church had to bear the weight of the yoke, which, in her folly, she had taken upon her shoulders. Her Bishoprics and Prebends became the prey of the needy phantom-Pope, and of his thirty-six Cardinals. He was himself the servant of the French Court, he had to put up with every indignity offered him by the arrogance of the courtiers, and to purchase their favour at the cost of the Church in France, thus subjected to the extortions of both Paris and Avignon."§ How completely Clement VII. looked on himself as a Frenchman, and how thoroughly all feeling for the liberty and independence of the Papacy had died within him, is clearly evidenced by the fact that, reserving for the Holy See only Rome, the Campagna, the

* See Siebeking, 14, note 3.

† Even the French writers, Christophe (iii., v.) and l'Epinois, admit the schism to have been produced by national antipathies and sympathies, the immediate and logical consequence of the sojourn of the Popes at Avignon. See also Döllinger, *The Church and the Churches*, Eng. Transl., p. 125 ; Werner, iii., 680 ; Höfler, Ruprecht, 134, and Anna of Luxemburg, 119 ; Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 483-485, and Capecelatro, 173.

‡ Döllinger, *Lehrbuch*, ii., 1, 281.

§ *Loc. cit.* See Clémangis, *De corrupto ecclesiæ statu*, Opp. (ed. Lydius, Lugd. Bat., 1613), 26, and *Chronique du religieux de St. Denys*, ii., 2.

Patrimony of St. Peter, and Sabina, he granted the greater part of the States of the Church to Duke Louis of Anjou to form the new kingdom of Adria, on condition that he should expel Urban VI.* No former Pope had ventured thus to tamper with the possessions of the Church. Such an action was only possible to the "executioner of Cesena," the man "of broad conscience," † as the historian of the Schism calls him.

The rival claims to the lawful possession of the Tiara were now a matter of general discussion, and unfortunately, judgment too often depended on political considerations, rather than on an impartial examination of facts.‡ It became evident that the question really underlying the whole contest was, whether French influence, which had become dominant in Europe since the downfall of the Hohenstaufens, should still control the Papacy, or whether

* See the Bull of Clement VII., Leibnitz, *Cod. jur. gent.*, i., 239-250, and Lünig, *Cod. Ital. dipl.*, ii., 1167-1182, and P. Durrieu's interesting article, *Le royaume d'Adria*, in the *Revue des quest. hist.* (1880), lv., 43-78, and A. d'Ancona in the *Rass. settim.* (1881), viii., 102 *et seq.*

† Niem., ii., 1. Stefani, 204, explains in a few words how it came to pass that the bloodthirsty ("homo sanguinis," Baluze, ii., 914, and *Salutatus*, Epist., i., 31) Cardinal of Geneva was elected. "Costui elessero," he writes, "perocchè era di grande aiuto, pensando, che essi ne sarebbono aiutati dal Re di Francia sì per lo parentado e sì per la lingua e *per averlo in Provenza*, ove di poi andò."

‡ The great misfortune was that politics took possession of ecclesiastical questions. In a memorial laid before the Council of Constance we find the following remarkable passage: "*Occasio et fomentum schismatis erat discordia inter regna: inter se prius divisa partibus de papatu contententibus se pariformiter conjunxerunt. Quæ quidem discordia si inter regna non processisset, schisma non tam diu stetisset nec tam leviter inchoatum fuisset,*" v.d. Hardt, i., 24, 1170.

the Papacy should resume its normal universal position.* The French King, Charles V., perfectly understood the real gist of the matter. "I am now Pope!" he exclaimed,† when the election of Clement VII. was announced to him. The Anti-pope was not generally acknowledged, however, so rapidly as the French monarch could have desired. The University of Paris was at first neutral, and only espoused the cause of Clement VII. under compulsion. The Spanish Kingdoms also began by endeavouring to maintain neutrality, so that his cause would probably have perished in its infancy, had it not been for the powerful support of Charles V.,‡ who spared no pains to win over all nations in any way subject to French influence. Within the next few years all the Latin nations, with the exception of Northern and Central Italy and Portugal, took the part of Clement VII., and Scotland, the ally of France, naturally also adhered to the French Pope.

The attitude of England was determined by the enmity existing between that country and France. When the French King declared for Clement VII., England energetically espoused the cause of Urban VI. Guido di Malesicco, the Legate of the Anti-pope, was not allowed to set foot on English soil, and King Richard even went so far as to confiscate the property of the Clementine Cardinals. England in general identified the struggle against Clement with the war against France; the split in the Church and the conflict between the two nations became blended together.§

* Lindner, Urban VI., 417.

† See Theol. Studien u. Krit., 1873, p. 151-161.

‡ Such is also the opinion of Hefele, vi., 673. Regarding the attitude of Spain, see V. de la Fuente *Historia eccles. de España*, 418 *et seq.*

§ Höfler, Anna of Luxemburg, 119. Subsequently, England alone responded to Urban's summons to a crusade against the Anti-pope. See Lindner, i., 90. Höfler, *loc. cit.*, 118, 158, 170 *et seq.* Lingard, *History of England*, iii., 343.

The Emperor, Charles IV., who had already looked with an unfavourable eye on the sojourn of the Popes at Avignon, was also a firm adherent of the Roman Pope. He was well aware that France aspired to dominion, not merely over the Papacy or the Empire, but over the whole world.* Charles' example was followed by the greater portion of the Empire and by Louis of Anjou, King of Hungary and Poland, who was connected by marriage with the Princes of the House of Luxemburg, and was the inveterate enemy of Joanna of Naples. Ever since Charles had aided him against the Turks, and the Queen had become estranged from the Pope, he had forgotten that French blood ran in his veins.† The northern kingdoms and most of the Italian States, with the exception of Naples, continued loyal to the Roman Pope.‡

It was much to the advantage of Urban VI., who in the meantime had created a new College of Cardinals, that his opponent was not able to maintain a position in Italy, where, nevertheless, the battle had to be decided.§ But now, as if struck by blindness, the Pope began to commit a series of errors. In the pursuit of his own personal ends he completely lost sight of the wider views,|| which ought to have directed his policy. The conflict with his powerful neighbour, Queen Joanna of Naples, became his leading

* See Urban VI.'s letter to King Wenceslaus, dated Rome, September 6th, 1382. Peltzel, i., Urkundenb., 53, No. 33.

† Puckert, ii. Among the reasons which influenced Germany in preferring the Roman to the Avignon Papacy may be the fact that several of the German Universities derived their legal existence from Urban VI. See Phillips, *Gesch. der Universität Ingoldstadt* (Munich, 1846), 7.

‡ It is worthy of notice that the authority of the Roman Popes was always acknowledged over a much larger extent of territory than that of their opponents. Guericke, i., 5th ed., 719.

§ In the end of May, 1379, Clement VII. went to Avignon.

|| Lindner, Urban VI., 421 *et seq.*, 542.

idea. He excommunicated her as an obstinate partisan of the French Pope, declared her to have forfeited her throne, and allowed a Crusade to be preached against her. He entrusted the execution of his sentence to the crafty and ambitious Charles of Durazzo, invested him with the Kingdom of Naples on the 1st June, 1381, and crowned him on the following day. In return for these favours, Charles had to promise to hand over Capua, Caserta, Aversa, Nocera, Amalfi, and other places to the Pope's nephew, a thoroughly worthless and immoral man. While thus providing for the aggrandizement of his family, Urban did not scruple to despoil churches and altars of their treasures, in order to obtain the resources necessary for the expedition against Naples.* But punishment soon overtook him. Charles at once took possession of the Kingdom of Naples, but seemed to have quite forgotten his promise. Urban was beside himself, and resolved to go in person to Naples and assert his authority. Notwithstanding the opposition of his Cardinals, he carried this unfortunate project into execution in the autumn of 1383. The result, as might have been expected, was only to add fresh bitterness to the conflict, and to bring about Urban's complete discomfiture. The monarch, who owed his crown to the Pope, treated him from the first as his prisoner. A brief reconciliation was followed by still more violent discord, and the Pope was besieged at Nocera. Here he exposed his high dignity to ridicule, by proceeding four times a day to the window, and with bell, book, and candle solemnly excommunicating the besiegers.† And as if to fill up the

Niem, i., 22. Rattinger (*Literar Rundschau*, i., 251) is wrong in doubting this fact; see Urban's brief to the Archbishops of Naples and Capua, *Lünig, Cod. Ital. Dipl.*, iv., 534.

† *Giornali Napolit*, 1052. The besiegers, on their part, offered a reward of 10,000 golden dollars for the person of the Pope, living or dead! *Baluze*, ii., 982.

measure of the abjection and misery of the Holy See, he, at this very time, fell out with his own Cardinals. Embittered by the irksome insecurity of their sojourn at Nocera, and by the violence and obstinacy of the Pope, who, deaf to their advice, continued to involve himself and the Church in fresh perplexities, several of them got an opinion drawn up by a Canonist, Bartolino di Piacenza, to the effect that a Pope, who by his incapacity or blind obstinacy should endanger the Church, might be placed under the guardianship of some Cardinals and made dependent on their approval in all matters of importance. They accordingly determined to take forcible possession of his person, but Urban, being forewarned, caused the conspirators to be seized, imprisoned, tortured, and ultimately put to death.* The cruel harshness of the aged Pope greatly injured his reputation. Two of his Cardinals went over to the French Pope, by whom they were gladly welcomed. It was a terrible calamity for the Church, that just at a time when Princes and people were bent on their own political interest, the severe and obstinate character of Urban prepared so much evil for himself and his adherents, and that no power was able to turn him from his course.† He held with unbending determination to his unfortunate Neapolitan project, and died unlamented at Rome on 15th October, 1389.

Christendom had never yet witnessed such a Schism; all

* So Döllinger describes this conspiracy (ii., 1, 282, 283), the history of which is extremely obscure (see Reumont, ii., 1058; Cipolla, 189, 191). The accounts given by Gobelin and Dietrich von Nieheim leave a very different impression; see Sauerland, 15 *et seq.*, and Bayer, *Gob. Persona* (Leipzig, 1875), 29. The execution of the Cardinals by order of Urban VI. is characterized by Ægidius of Viterbo in his *Historia viginti sæculor*: as “*scelus nullo antea sæculo auditum*,” Cod. C. 8, 19 of the Angelica Library at Rome.

† Hergenröther (ii., 1, 41) Balan (iv., 423), and Creighton (i., 92 *et seq.*) all express this opinion.

timid souls were cast into a sea of doubt, and even courageous men like Abbot Ludolf of Sagan, its historian, bewailed it day and night.*

Anti-popes, indeed, had already arisen on several occasions, but in most cases they had very soon passed away, for, owing their elevation to the secular power, it bore more or less clearly on its very face the stamp of violence and injustice. But in the present instance all was different; unlike the Schisms caused by the Hohenstaufens or Louis of Bavaria, that of 1378 was the work of the Cardinals, the highest of the clergy. And, moreover, the election of Urban VI. had taken place under circumstances so peculiar that it was easy to call it in question. It was impossible for those not on the spot to investigate it in all its details, and the fact, that all who had taken part in it subsequently renounced their allegiance, was well calculated to inspire doubt and perplexity.† It is extremely difficult for those who study the question in the present day with countless documents before them, and the power of contemplating the further development of the Schism, to estimate the difficulties of contemporaries who sought to know which of the two Popes had a right to their obedience. The extreme confusion is evidenced by the fact that canonized Saints are found amongst the adherents of each of the rivals. St. Catherine of Siena, and her namesake of Sweden, stand opposed to St. Vincent Ferrer and the Blessed Peter of Luxemburg, who acknowledged the French Pope.‡ All

* Laserth, Beiträge, 361, 368, 375, 404, 456, 457, 553. "Fu di tutti gli altri (scismi) il peggio," says the Istoria di Chiusi, 961.

† See the ** Report of Francisco de Aguzzonis, Cod. Vatic., 4927, f. 146, Vatican Library.

‡ See Papebroch, 431 *et seq.* The relations of St. Vincent Ferrer with Benedict XIII. are dealt with in an article: L'anti-pape Benoît XIII. en Rousillon, Revue du monde cath, 10 Avril, 1866.

the writings of the period give more or less evidence of the conflicting opinions which prevailed; and upright men afterwards confessed, that they had been unable to find out which was the true Pope. *

To add to the complications, the obedience of Germany to Urban VI. and that of France to Clement VII. was far from complete, for individuals in both countries attached themselves to the Pope, from whom they expected to gain most.† The allegiance of the Holy Roman Empire to Urban was evidently of an unstable character, since ecclesiastics in Augsburg fearlessly, and without hindrance, accepted charges and benefices from the hands of the Antipope and his partisans, and itinerant preachers publicly asserted the validity of his claim.‡ Peter Suchenwirt, in a poem written at this period, describes the distress, which the growing anarchy within the Church§ was causing in men's minds, and earnestly beseeches God to end it. "There are two Popes," he says; "which is the right one?"

* As, for example, the Carthusian Werner Rolewinck (1425-1502) in Pistorius, ii., 567 (*cf.* iii., 350). See St. Antoninus, *Chronic. tit.*, xxii., c. 11 (*non videtur saluti necessarium credere istum esse vel illum, sed alterum eorum*), and Ludolf of Sagan in Loserth, 456. The *Limburger Chronik*, on the other hand, says (73): "Also waren zwene babeste, einer zu Rome, der was mit rechte ein babest, der ander zu Abigon mit unrechte."

† See Coluccio Salutato's remarkable letter in Martène, *Thesaur.*, ii., 1158 (also in the edition of Rigaccius, i., 116).

‡ See Ch. Meyer, *Das Schisma unter König Wenzel und die deutschen Städte in the Forschungen*, xvi., 355, 356.

§ In 1386 a false Bishop went about in the Dioceses of Treves and Mayence. *Limburger Chronik*. 18. Other instances are given in Haupt's interesting article on Joh. Malkaw, *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*, vi., 324 *et seq.*

"In Rome itself we have a Pope,
 In Avignon another;
 And each one claims to be alone
 The true and lawful ruler.
 The world is troubled and perplexed,
 'Twere better we had none,
 Than two to rule o'er Christendom,
 Where God would have but one.
 He chose St. Peter, who his fault
 With bitter tears bewail'd;
 As you may read the story told
 Upon the sacred page.
 Christ gave St. Peter pow'r to bind,
 And also pow'r to loose;
 Now men are binding here and there,
 Lord, loose our bonds we pray."

"Our sins, indeed, had deserved this punishment; the world is full of injustice and falsehood:

"Never have hatred, pride, and greed,
 Had pow'r so great as now."

"Men are sunk in vices and crimes; it is in vain to look for peace and justice. The disastrous year of 1378 took an Emperor and a Pope from the world; we have now a Pope too many and an Emperor too few. God alone can put an end to this misery;" and the poet concludes with the prayer—

"To Christendom its chiefs restore,
 Both its Pope and its Emperor,
 Thus throughout the world shall be,
 End made of wrong and misery."*

It has been well observed † that we can scarcely form an

* P. Suchenwirt's Werke, published by A. Primisser (Wien, 1827), 107-109, Zimmerman, 2.

† By F. H. Geffcken, Staat und Kirche (Berlin, 1875), 185. See Guericke, i., 5th ed., 718, and Hagenbach, 463.

idea of the deplorable condition to which Europe was reduced by the schism. Uncertainty as to the title of its ruler is ruinous to a nation; this schism affected the whole of Christendom, and called the very existence of the Church in question. The discord touching its Head necessarily permeated the whole body of the Church; in many Dioceses two Bishops were in arms for the possession of the Episcopal throne, two Abbots in conflict for an abbey. The consequent confusion was indescribable.* We cannot wonder that the Christian religion became the derision of Jews and Mahometans.†

The amount of evil wrought by the schism of 1378, the longest known in the history of the Papacy,‡ can only be estimated, when we reflect that it occurred at a moment, when thorough reform in ecclesiastical affairs was a most urgent need. This was now utterly out of the question, and, indeed, all evils which had crept into ecclesiastical life were infinitely increased.§ Respect for the Holy See was also greatly impaired, and the Popes became more than ever dependent on the temporal power, for the schism

* “*Surrexit regnum contra regnum, provincia contra provinciam, clerus contra clerum, doctores contra doctores, parentes in filios et filii in parentes,*” writes Abbot Ludolf of Sagan in his *Tractatus de longaevo schismate*, c. 2 (Loserth, 404).

† Gerson, *Opp.*, ii., 115; Martène, *Thesaur.*, ii., 1159, and Langenstein's *Invectiva contra monstrum Babylonis*, v., 243 *et seq.* in Cod. 320, f. 92 *et seq.* of the University Library at Breslau. See Appendix No. 15.

‡ Muratori, xix., 646, and Pistorius, ii., 567.

§ See especially Schwab, 492 *et seq.*, 675 *et seq.*, who justly observes, that the work of Nicolas de Clémangis, “*De corrupto Ecclesiæ statu,*” is by no means absolutely reliable. See also on this subject Voigt, *Enea*, i., 193-195. As to the condition of the German Church see the detailed account of Höfler, Ruprecht, 112 *et seq.*, and also Wegele, ii., 411.

allowed each Prince to choose which Pope he would acknowledge.* In the eyes of the people, the simple fact of a double Papacy must have shaken the authority of the Holy See to its very foundations. It may truly be said that these fifty years of schism prepared the way for the great Apostacy of the sixteenth century.

It is not within the scope of the present work to recount all the vicissitudes of the warfare between the claimants of the Papal throne—for Urban VI. received immediately a successor. Neither side would yield, and the confusion of Christendom daily increased and pervaded all classes of society. The Cardinals of the rival Popes were at open variance, and in many dioceses there were two Bishops. This was the case in Breslau, Mayence, Liege, Basle, Metz, Constance, Coire, Lubeck, Dorpat, and other places, and even the Religious and Military Orders were drawn into the schism.†

The conflict was carried on with unexampled violence.

* Flathe, ii., 65 ; Guerike, i., 5th ed., 718. The Schism compelled the Popes to make great concessions to the temporal Princes (see the Decree of Boniface IX. against the extension of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, found in the Düsseldorf Archives, and published by Varrentrapp [Hermann von Wied, Leipzig, 1878. Appendix 5-6]), and it seems to have been the origin of the so-called *Placet* or *Exequatur* ; see Martens, 142 ; Hergenröther, *Staat und Kirche*, 819.

† For particulars regarding the distracted Dioceses, see Lindner, i., 92, 93. Haupt, in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, vi., 340, speaks of the disunion among the mendicant Orders ; regarding that among the Carthusians see Tromby, vii., 45 *et seq.*, 48 *et seq.*, 60 *et seq.*, 98, 104 ; app. lvi. *et seq.*, clxiii *et seq.* See also J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Un anti-grand-maître de l'Ordre de Saint Jean de Jérusalem*, etc. *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xl., 525. The contest of two Abbots for the celebrated Abbey of Corbie at the end of the fourteenth century is related by Evelt, 125, 126.

While the adherents of the Roman Pope reprobated the Mass offered by the "Clementines," the "Clementines" in their turn looked on that of the "Urbanists" as a blasphemy; in many cases public worship was altogether discontinued.* "The depths of calamity," as St. Catherine of Siena said, "overwhelmed the Church." "Mutual hatred," writes a biographer of the Saint, "lust of power, the worst intrigues flourished amidst clergy and laity alike, and who could suppress these crimes? God alone could help, and He led the Church through great and long-continued tribulation back to unity, and made it plain to all that men may indeed in their wickedness wound her, but they cannot destroy her, for she bears within a divine principle of life." Therefore, even amid the direst storm of discord, St. Catherine could write, "I saw how the Bride of Christ was giving forth life, for she contains such living power that no one can kill her; I saw that she was dispensing strength and light, and that no one can take them from her, and I saw that her fruit never diminishes, but always increases."†

But this did not lessen the Saint's distress. "Every age," she wrote to a nun, "has its afflictions, but you have not seen, and no one has seen a time so troubled as the present. Look, my daughter, and your soul must be filled with grief and bitterness, look at the darkness which has come upon the Church; human help is unavailing. You and all the servants of God must take Heaven by storm; it is a time for watching, and not for sleeping; the foe must be

* Niem, i., 19. Christophe, iii., 35, 36.

† Capecelatro-Conrad, 242, 243. Johann von Jenzenstein, in his* "Liber de consideratione," addressed to Urban VI, also asserts his firm confidence in the indestructibility of the Church: "Quoties destruitur, toties iterum construitur," Cod. Vatic., 1122, f. 43, Vatican Library.

vanquished by vigils, by tears, by groans and sighs, and by humble, persevering prayer.”*

But St. Catherine did not content herself with merely praying for the Pope. After the failure of her efforts to nip the fearful evil of the Schism in the bud, she put forth all her powers to secure the victory of justice—the cause of the Roman Pope. Letters full of warning, supplication, and menace were addressed by her to various individuals; she wrote to the Pope and the Cardinals as well as to the most illustrious Princes. Her influence aided Urban to maintain his position in Italy and contributed to the defeat of the French Anti-pope in that country.† But she was not permitted to witness the restoration of unity to the Church, for on the 29th April, 1380, she died, full of grief for the disorders due to the Schism, but with an unshaken confidence in the “eternal future of the Church.”

The literature of this period, a field as yet but little explored, testifies to the general distress caused by the Schism. Touching lamentations in both prose and verse portray the desolation and confusion of the time, and this

* *Loc. cit.*, 214 (Tommaseo, iv., 143). “Io, per me,” writes St. Catherine to a Carthusian monk, “muoio e non posso morire di vedere offendere tanto il nostro Creatore nel corpo mistico della santa Chiesa e contaminare la fede nostra da quegli che sono posti per alluminarla.”

† *Loc. cit.*, 221 *et seq.*, 228 *et seq.*, 240 *et seq.*, 243 *et seq.*, 252 *et seq.*, 254 *et seq.*, 258. Chavin de Malan (*Vie de St. Catherine de Sienne*, Paris, 1846) justly observes that St. Catherine was to the Papacy what Joan of Arc was to the French monarchy. “A heart more loyal to the Church and to the Papacy perhaps never beat in any human breast,” says Hase, 197. See also the beautiful words of Janitschek, *Die Gesellschaft, &c.*, p. 21. In reference to St. Catherine’s part in the promotion of the unity of the Church, see also the letter of Stefano Macone, the celebrated General of the Carthusians, Tromby., vii., App. clxv.

was aggravated by epidemics. "Whose heart," cries Heinrich von Langenstein, "is so hardened as not to be moved by the unspeakable sufferings of his Mother, the Church?" In order to give yet more force to his complaint that the spirit of unity and concord has forsaken Christendom, he brings the Church herself forward and puts into her mouth the words of Jeremias, associated by the Liturgy with the Dolours of our Lady: "See if there be sorrow like my sorrow."* The celebrated Canonist, Giovanni di Lignano, in a treatise in support of the legitimacy of Urban VI., echoes Langenstein's words.† The chronicler of St. Denis mentions a comet which appeared at this time with its tail turned to the west, as portending war, insurrection, and treason. He foretold that a Pope was to be besieged in Avignon, and a Pope driven from Rome. The pious Giovanni dalle Celle, in despair at the contest which deprived the very centre of the Church of its universality, writes: "They say that the world must be renewed; I say, it must be destroyed."‡ Amongst writings of a similar nature we must not omit the frequently quoted treatise addressed to Urban VI. by the celebrated Archbishop of Prague, Johann von Jenzenstein, who depicts the abjection of the Church in striking terms.§

* I found Langenstein's * *Exclamatio contra schisma ecclesiæ* in Cod. 129, f. 82a, 83 of the University Library at Innsbruck, and in MS. also in the Court Library at Vienna. See Denis, ii., 847.

† *Tractatus de fletu ecclesiæ*. Arm., liv., t. 18 (n. 5), Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Compendio di dottrina etc.* (Bologna, 1861), 351. Kraus, 494. Jean Petit in 1392 composed a poem: *La Complainte de l'Eglise* (see Froissart, xv., 375), which also belongs to this class of works. Bitter complaints are also to be found in * Nic. de Bitonto, *Consilium super schismate*, Cod. Vatic., 4192, Vatican Library.

§ "Liber de consideratione scriptus ad Urbanum papam sextum," divided into the following sections: "(1) De planctu

From these complaints it is evident how keenly the need of a supreme Judge, Guardian, and Guide in ecclesiastical affairs was felt.

Naturally, men did not stop at mere expressions of sorrow, but went on to inquire into the origin of the evil which was bringing such dishonour on the Church. The most clear-sighted contemporary writers point to the corruption of the clergy, to their inordinate desire for money and possessions—in short, to their selfishness—as the root of all the misery. This is the key note of Nicolas de Clémangis' celebrated book, "On the Ruin of the Church" (written in 1401); and in a sermon delivered before the Council of Constance, the preacher insisted that "money was the origin of the Schism, and the root of all the confusion."*

It cannot, however, be too often repeated that the ecclesiastical corruption was in great measure a consequence of the Avignon period, and of the influence which State politics had acquired in matters of Church government. The rupture, produced by the recreant French Cardinals, was, in reality, nothing but the conflict of two nations for the possession of the Papacy; the Italians wished to recover it, and the French would not let it be wrested from them.†

ecclesiæ; (2) *De origine schismatis*; (3) *De ecclesiæ humiliatione*; (4) *De ecclesiæ destitutione*; (5) *De civitate Dei*; (6) *De civitate diaboli*," Cod. Vatic., 1122, f. 43, 63, Vatican Library. In Appendix No. 14 see a passage from Giovanni di Spoleto's, "Dialogus de tollendo Schismate," copied from a MS. in the Library of St. Peter's, Rome.

* Zimmermann, 2-3, gives proofs. See also the words of the Abbot Ludolph of Sagan, a man devotedly attached to the Church, Loserth, 392, and Johann von Jenzenstein's * "Liber de consideratione," Cod. Vatic., 1122, f. 46, Vatican Library.

† Döllinger, *Kirche und Kirchen*, 9. Janus, 315. K. Hase is also of this opinion. "If the proximate cause of the Schism," he

Those who raised their voices to complain of the corruption and confusion of Christendom were not always men of real piety or moral worth. In many cases they might with advantage have begun by reforming their own lives. Some of them went so far as to charge all the evils of the day upon the ecclesiastical authorities, and stirred up laity and clergy against each other; such persons only destroyed that which was still standing. Others, again, clamoured for reform, while themselves doing nothing to promote it. But at this time, as at all periods in the history of the Church, men were found who, without making much noise or lamentation, laboured in the right way—that is, within the limits laid down by the Church—for the thorough amendment of all that was amiss.

Of this stamp was Gerhard Groot of Deventer (born 1340, died 1384).* This excellent man, whom John Busch and Thomas à Kempis rightly name a light of the Church, endeavoured to spread abroad a true idea of the high vocation of the clergy, to point out to Christian people the way of salvation, and to propagate genuine piety in the hearts of his fellow men. Having received deacon's orders, he went through Holland, preaching missions in the towns of Zwolle, Deventer, and Kempen. He usually preached

says (Cat. von Siena, 249), “ was the violent conduct of Urban, its deeper origin is to be found in the attempt of the French Papacy to maintain itself as such. That which has lasted for seventy years, and which men remember as existing from their childhood, is easily believed to have a right to endure, and this opinion gains strength if national feeling is enlisted on its side.”

* See the remarkable Monograph of Karl Grube (Köln, 1883). In a letter, which has not yet been published, regarding the Schism, G. Groot expresses the desire “*quod ambo pontifices cum omnibus cardinalibus cantarent in coelo empyreo gloria in excelsis, et alius verus Elyachim poneret pacem et unitatem in terris,*” Cod. 4923, f. 196, Court Library at Vienna.

three times a day; people came from miles to hear his inspired discourses. The Churches were for the most part too small to contain the congregations, and he frequently preached in the churchyards. His language was not that of the schools, but of the heart, and therefore it reached the hearts of his hearers. Moreover, his life was the practical exemplification of his doctrine. His whole work may be briefly summed up as the "promotion of the imitation of Jesus Christ."

Much was gained when by degrees a circle of disciples gathered round this Apostolic man; they lived under his direction and that of his friend, Florentius Radewins, earning their bread by transcribing pious books, and employing themselves also in the religious instruction of the people. By the advice of Florentius, they put their earnings together and lived in common under a head elected by themselves. With Gerhard's assistance, Florentius drew up a rule of life and ordinances for the Community. All promised to obey him as their Superior and to remain for life. Vows, in the proper sense of the word, were not taken, for the new Community was not as yet recognized as a religious Congregation by the Holy See. Each member had also to promise that he would contribute to the general support by manual labour, especially by writing. Their object was to lead the life of the early Christians—"the life of Perfection and of Imitation of Christ." The principle of self-support, on which this community was founded, distinguished it from the existing religious houses, which made the Divine worship, prayer, and religious instruction their practical aim, and derived their support from endowments or the gifts of the faithful.*

* Gerhard abhorred begging, and set before his disciples the example of St. Paul who also worked with his own hands. Grube, *loc. cit.*, 67.

Such was the origin of the celebrated community of the "Brothers of the Common life" (Fraterherren).* The fervent words of Thomas à Kempis describe their further progress. "Humility, the first of all virtues, was here practised from the least to the greatest. This makes the earthly house a Paradise, and transforms mortal men into heavenly pearls, living stones in the Temple of God. There, under holy discipline, flourished obedience, the mother of virtues, and the lamp of spiritual knowledge. The highest wisdom consisted in obeying without delay, and it was a grave fault to disregard the counsel or even the slightest word of the Superior. The love of God and of men burned within and without, so that the hard hearts of sinners melted into tears when they heard their holy words; those who came cold, went away inflamed by the fire of the discourse and full of joy, and resolved for the future to sin no more. There was a shining store of armour for the spiritual warfare against each separate vice; old and young alike learned to fight bravely against Satan, the flesh, and the deceits of the world. The memory of the ancient Fathers and the fervour of the Egyptian solitaries, which had long lain half buried, was brought to life again, and the religious state rose, in conformity with the traditions of the primitive Church, to the highest perfection! There were heard pious exhortations to the practice of virtue, and the most holy and sorrowful passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ was the subject of frequent and devout meditation. We know that from the attentive remembrance of His Passion comes healing for our souls; it has power to kill the poisonous bite of the serpent, to moderate the passions of the heart, and

* See the article contributed by K. Hirsche to Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, ii., 2nd ed., 678-760, where a list of the numerous works regarding them will be found.

to raise the dull soul from earth to Heaven by the imitation of the Crucified."*

Gerhard Groot and his foundation had soon to encounter much opposition, especially from the Mendicant Friars. Accordingly, a very short time before his early death, he urgently recommended his friend Florentius to adopt the rule of a religious order. His wish was carried out in the year 1386-1387, when a house, following the rule of St. Augustine, was established at Windesheim, three hours' journey to the south of Zwolle, and six members of Florentius' Brotherhood took possession of it. This foundation deserves to be particularly mentioned, even in a History of the Popes, for monastic reform and the revival of faith flowed thence like a mighty stream, first through Holland and then through the whole of Northern Germany, the Rhine country, and Franconia. It was established as a Congregation in 1395, and its Statutes were immediately confirmed by Pope Boniface IX.† The disciples of Groot did much to promote the real reform of the clergy, and the amelioration of Catholic life in Germany and the Netherlands. The services rendered by the Congregation of Windesheim and the Fraterherren in raising the standard of popular instruction, and promoting the spread of religious literature in the vernacular, have been recognized by the best judges. It is acknowledged that they were not behind their age in regard to scientific attainments, and that their method in classical studies was excellent.‡ The rapid increase of this con-

* Somalius, *Opp. Thomæ à Kempis* (Antwerpæ, 1615), 951, cap. xxi., N. 2. Grube, *G. Groot*, 71-72.

† Grube, *J. Busch*, 13. *G. Groot*, 82-84.

‡ Raumer, *Gesch. der Pädagogik*, i., 27 *et seq.*, 2nd ed. Bursian, 89. See also F. Jostes' Introduction to the Sermons of Joh. Veghe (Halle, 1883). Dr. Grube, who has thrown much light on the whole subject, gives a complete account of the literary work of the Windesheim Congregation in the *Katholik*, 1881 (1, 42 *et seq.*).

gregation, from the year 1386, when the first six brothers took possession of mud huts at Windesheim,* and the wonderful renovation of monastic life which it initiated, form one of the brightest spots in an age so full of sorrow.

Among the darker shades of the picture of this period, we must count the formation of sectarian Conventicles by laymen and the increase of false prophecies. In regard to the first of these evils, it has been well observed that times like that of the great Schism are fraught, for earnest natures, with a special danger, in proportion to their dissatisfaction with the provision for their spiritual needs, made by those who represent the Church.† The false prophecies, on account of their wide diffusion, demand a more detailed examination. The difficulty of ascertaining which Pope was the true one, and the anxiety and perplexity of conscience which afflicted all thoughtful souls, in consequence of the chaotic state of the Church, led to a notable multiplication of visionaries and prophets.‡ There was a widespread expectation of the coming of Anti-Christ, and the approaching end of the world; an Englishman, writing probably in the year 1390, even maintained that the Pope was the Anti-Christ of the Apocalypse.§ By means of another most dangerous class

* Grube, Groot, 84 *et seq.*

† Grisar in the Hist. Jahrb., i., 628. In 1437 and 1438 the Synods of Salzburg and Brixen were obliged to take measures against Conventicles of this kind. See Bickell, 64.

‡ See Johann von Jenzensteins * "Liber de consideratione scriptus ad Urbanum papam sextam." Cod. Vatic., 1122, f. 46, 48. Vatican Library.

§ See Niem, iii., 41, 43. Höfler, Concilia Pragensia, 1353-1413 (Prag. 1862), xli. Hartwig, i., 21, 49, note; ii., 8. Döllinger, Weissagungsglaube, 270. Hipler, 62. Even the Blessed Giovanni dalle Celle gave credit to the prophecy which foretold the end of the world; see Lettere del b. Giovanni dalle

of prophecies, political and heretical agitators, the latter of whom were at this time peculiarly audacious, endeavoured to turn the sad condition of the Church to profit for their own purposes.* A host of these predictions, which aggravated the general confusion, are inspired by the false ascetical principle that the clergy and the Church ought to return to Apostolic poverty.

Views of this kind are forcibly enunciated in the celebrated work of the so-called hermit, Telesphorus, who, born, by his own account, near Cosenza, gave out that he lived in the neighbourhood of Thebes. His prophecy claims our attention, because, as countless manuscripts bear witness, it enjoyed a wider circulation than any other writing of the kind.†

Celle, ed. B. Sorio (Roma, 1845), 188 *et seq.* The anticipation of the advent of Anti-Christ and of a false Pope again prevailed in Northern Italy in 1420, 1433, 1443, and 1457; see Wadding, x., 33 *et seq.*; Annal. Placent. in Muratori, Script. xx., 878, 905, and Steinchnneider in the Zeitschr. der Deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft (1875), xxix., 165.

* Hartwig, i., 71. Even in the Avignon days the opponents of the Papacy had enlisted prophecies in their service; see Gaspary, i., 356 *et seq.*, 530. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Froissart, vi., 262 *et seq.*

† According to Döllinger, Weissagungsglaube, 369, the work of Telesphorus was printed in Venice in 1515, but this edition (which I have been unable to find) is so rare that modern writers only know the work from MSS. I give a list of those whose existence I have been able to ascertain:—Berlin: Royal Museum, Hamilton MS., 628 (sæc. xv.). Bologna: University Library, Cod. 1577, f. 1 *et seq.* Florence: National Library, MSS. Stroz, cl. xxii., Cod. 22, f. 128 *et seq.* London: British Museum, Arundel MSS., 117 (see Index to the A. MSS., London, 1840). Lyons: City Library, Cod. 654, (with pictures; presented by Franc. de Cheviere, 1624, to the Library of the Jesuits' College in Lyons). Milan: Trivulzio Library, Cod. 199 (sæc. xv.). Mayence: City

Telesphorus starts from the idea that the Schism is a punishment for the sins and crimes of the Roman Church and the clergy in general. Its conclusion, he says, is to be expected in the year 1393, when the Anti-Pope (the Italian Pope) will be slain in Perugia. This event will be followed by a complete renovation of the Church and the return of the clergy to Apostolic poverty, but the persecution of the clergy will continue. A new Emperor and a new Pope will then appear, and the latter, the "Pastor Angelicus," will deprive the Germans of the Imperial Crown and bestow it on the French King Charles; he will recover possession of Jerusalem, and the union with the Greek Church will be accomplished. The burden of the prophecy of Telesphorus is the transfer of the Imperial dignity to the Royal House of France; it is nothing but a programme of French hopes and political aspirations, set forth in the prophetic form so popular at the period.*

Library, Cod. 247. Munich: Palace Library, Cod. lat. 313, f. 10 *et seq.*; 4143 (sæc xvii.), f. 5 *et seq.*; 5106, f. 233 *et seq.* (see Cat. Cod., etc.). Pommersfelden: Library of Count Schönborn; see Archiv, ix., 538 *et seq.* Rome: Chigi Library, Cod. A. vii., 220; Vatic. Library, Cod. Vatic., 3816, f. 331 *et seq.*; 3817, f. 16b. *et seq.*; Cod. Regin. 580 (sæc. xv., with pictures); Ottob. 1106 (ex cod. Jo. Angeli ducis ab Altaemps). Turin: Library; see Fabricius, vi., 514. Venice: St. Mark's Library; see Valentinelli, ii., 128, 215. Vienna: Court Library, Cod. 3313, f. 1 *et seq.* Wolfenbüttel Library; see Hartwig, i., 71, note 2. The Telesphorus MS. of the Trivulzio Library is described by Porro, Cat. dei Codici MSS. della Trivulzio (Torino, 1884), 433. The Prophecies of Telesphorus (with pictures) in Cod. A. 5 (sæc. xv.) of the Seminary Library, Padua.

* Döllinger, Weissagungsglaube, 351. Regarding the efforts of France to obtain the Empire, see Janssen, Rheingelüste, 2nd ed. (Freiburg, 1883), and for the Papa Angelico, see Döllinger, *loc. cit.*, 317, 339 *et seq.*, 345 *et seq.*, 347. Kraus, 401, and Marchese, ii., 35 *et seq.*

The wide diffusion of this prediction and its anti-German character, induced the "most eminent German theologian of the day," Heinrich von Langenstein (Henricus de Hassia), to write a controversial work in reply.* The worthy Hessian scholar begins by disapproving the existing rage for prophecies, and specially condemns the predictions of Joachim and Cyrillus, from which Telesphorus had borrowed. His position throughout is that of the celebrated Theological School of Paris, which made no account of these predictions, and looked upon those of the Abbot Joachim as mere guesses which had nothing supernatural about them, while his treatment of many dogmatic questions was far from orthodox.

Langenstein strongly opposes the principle laid down by Telesphorus, that the clergy ought to be deprived of all their wealth and possessions. He justly observes that it would be most dangerous to teach the powerful laity, already unfavourably disposed towards ecclesiastics, that they had a right, under pretext of reform, to take possession of Church property, and that the abuse of riches by the clergy does not furnish a ground for deprivation. If this

* Published in Pez, *Thesaurus anecdot. noviss.* (Aug. Vindel., 1721), 1, 2, 505, 568; ex MS. Cod. Carthusiæ Gemnicensis. Hartwig (ii., 34) knows of but two MSS. copies of Langenstein's work (Vienna and Wolfenbüttel). I am able to indicate three others, which vary in some degree from the published version; this is especially the case in regard to the MS. in the University Library at Basle, Cod. A. iv., 24 (*Liber ecclesiæ S. Leonardi ord. canonic. regul.*, written in 1440), N. 6; and its division of chapters is different: Cap. 6 = cap. 9 in Pez; cap. 10 = cap. 13 in P.; cap. 11 = cap. 17 in P. The name of the hermit is here given in three different forms: Theolophilus, Theolophorus, Theoloferus. The other MSS. are in the University Library at Innsbruck, Cod. 620, f. 101a, 133b, and in the Town Library at Frankfort-on-Main, Cod. 783, N. 3 of the old Dominican Library in that city.

were, so, the property of laymen must also be taken from them, since most of them make a worse use of it. If, however, the Religious Orders were to be suppressed and despoiled, as Telesphorus predicts, the consequence, Langenstein maintains, would be, not the reformation, but the complete ruin of the Church.*

The so-called Telesphorus was not the only instance of a false prophet. Langenstein's work clearly proves their number to have been very considerable. He devotes a whole chapter to those, who were induced by the Schism to come forward and to foretell, by the course of the stars or their own conjectures, the triumph of one or other of the Popes and the end of the contest.† While Telesphorus supported France, Gamaleon predicted the renovation of the Church after the conquest of Rome by the German Emperor and the transfer of the Papacy to Germany.‡ In the excited state of public feeling, these pretentious prophets, in an uncritical age, found ready credence.§ The

* Pez, *loc. cit.*, 529, 534. The spoliation of the clergy had already been predicted by the sects of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; similar socialistic doctrines were afterwards put forward by Hans Böhm of Niklashausen; see Haupt, 58. In almost all the prophecies of the period, the cry of "Woe! Woe! to the clergy" is repeated. See *e.g.*, the * Prophecy of the year 1396 in Cod. 269 of the Library at Eichstätt.

† Langenstein also mentions the appearance of false prophets in the *Invectiva contra monstrum Babylonis*. Cod. 320 (v. 487) of the Royal University Library at Breslau. See also Johann von Jenzenstein's * "*Liber de consideratione*," Cod. Vatic., 1122, f. 49, Vatican Library.

‡ Döllinger, *Weissagungsglaube*, 351. Kraus, 494.

§ A * prophecy of 1395 (An Astrological Prognostication) concludes with an exhortation to spread the prediction abroad, so that everyone may be prepared and, before these storms break, seek a safe dwelling-place in caves of the highest mountains, and take provisions for thirty days. Cod. 269 of the Eichstätt Library.

predictions were copied out and illuminated as if they had been revelations of the Holy Spirit. In short, there was a very deluge of prophecies regarding the termination of the Schism, and all of them ended in nought.*

The crisis which the Church passed through at this juncture, is the most grievous recorded in her history. Just when the desperate struggle between the rival Popes had thrown everything into utter confusion, when ecclesiastical revenues and favours served almost exclusively as the reward of partisans, and when worldliness had reached its climax, heretical movements arose in England, France, Italy, Germany, and, above all, in Bohemia, and threatened the very constitution of the Church.† This was most

* Döllinger, *Weissagungsglaube* 348-349. The above-mentioned MSS. of the prophecy of Telesphorus in Berlin, Lyons, Venice, and especially the beautiful Codex a. vii., 22 of the Chigi Library, Rome, are illuminated. Lippman considers the illuminations in the Berlin MS. to be of some artistic merit.

† The widely-scattered notices regarding the heretical movement of this age have unfortunately never been gathered together; the work would be a most profitable and valuable one. See, besides Mosheim's book, *De Beghardis et Beguinabus* (Lips. 1790), especially Gieseler, ii., 3, 267 *et seq.*, 276 *et seq.*; Hahn, *Gesch. der Ketz. im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1847), ii., 518 *et seq.*, 533-546 *et seq.*; R. Wilmanns, *Zur Gesch. der Römischen Inquisition in Deutschland während des vierzehnten und fünfzehnten Jahrh.*, in Sybels *Histor. Zeitschr.* N.F. v., 193 *et seq.*; J. W. Röhrig, *Mittheilungen aus der Gesch. der Evangel. Kirche des Elsasses* (Paris-Strasburg, 1855), i., 1-77; Hartwig, i., 13-25; Ochsenbein, *aus dem Schweizerischen Volksleben des fünfzehnten Jahrh.* (Bern, 1881); Grube, G. Groot, 22 *et seq.*; Limburger *Chronik*, 81; Kolde, 59 *et seq.*; Friedjung, Karl, iv. (Wien, 1876), 199, 328-329, and especially the remarkable work of Dr. H. Haupt, *Ueber die religiösen Secten in Franken*, 1882. With regard to Italy, see Flathe, ii., 3 *et seq.*; Cantù, i., 132 *et seq.*; *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, serie iii., vol. i., 2 p., 3 *et seq.*; ii., 1 p. 8 *et seq.*; Wesselofsky, i., 145 *et seq.*, 335 *et seq.*; Comba, i., 329 *et seq.*; *Miscell. di Storia Ital.*, xx., 196 *et seq.*, and *Storia di fra Michele Minorita come fu arso in Firenze nel*

natural ; the smaller the chance of reform being effected by the Church, the more popular and active became the reform movement not directed by her ; the higher the region that needed, but resisted reform, the more popular did this movement become.*

Germany was disturbed by the Beghards, and also more especially by the Waldenses, whose doctrines had taken root in Bavaria and Austria during the latter half of the thirteenth century, and, notwithstanding constant repression, had become widely diffused. The movement reached its height in Germany in the last thirty years of the fourteenth century—the disastrous time of the Great Schism. It was not only in Southern Germany and the Rhine country, the two centres of Mediæval heresy, that a great proportion of the population had embraced the Waldensian doctrine, it had also made its way into the north and the furthest east of the empire. Waldensian congregations were to be found in Thuringia, the March of Brandenburg, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Pomerania, Prussia, and Poland.† That the Waldenses were very numerous in the Austrian dominions at the beginning of the last decade of the fourteenth century is proved by the fact that they had no less than twelve superintendents.‡ In

1389, con documenti risguardanti i fraticelli della povera vita, ed. Fr. Zambrini (Bologna, 1864).

* The close relationship between the Schism and the general rise of heretical teaching is forcibly insisted on by Heinrich von Langenstein in the *Invectiva contra monstrum Babylonis* (Breslau University Library, Cod. 320), v., 253 and 797 ; *Ecce novæ surgunt hæreses, quia schismata durant* (see Appendix, No. 15), and Zacharias Trevisanus in his **Oratio habita ad Gregorium xii*, (1407), in Cod. lat. xiv.-ccxciii and xi.-lxiii., Library of St. Mark at Venice.

† H. Haupt, 17 *et seq.*, 21-22.

‡ See G. K. Friess, *Patarener, Begharden und Waldenser in Oesterreich während des Mittelalters*, in the *Oesterr. Vierteljahrsschrift für Kathol. Theologie* (1872), xi., 242-257 *et seq.*

Southern Germany things had by this time come to such a pass that the Celestine Monk, Peter of Munich, appointed Inquisitor for the Diocese of Passau in 1390, felt that his life was in danger, and urgently implored the aid of the secular power against the heretics, who threatened him with fire and sword. The condition of the neighbouring Diocese of Ratisbon was similar to that of Passau.*

Too little attention has hitherto been bestowed on the revolutionary spirit of hatred of the Church and the clergy, (many of whom were, alas, unworthy of their high calling,) which had taken hold of the masses in different parts of Germany. Together with the revolt against the Church, a social revolution was openly advocated. A chronicler, writing at Mayence in the year 1401, declares that the cry of "Death to the Priests," which had long been whispered in secret, was now the watchword of the day.†

The reappearance in many parts of Germany of the Pantheistic Sect of Free Thought furnishes an example of the aberrations to which heresy leads. The recently-discovered report of proceedings, taken against an adherent of this sect at Eichstätt in 1381, shows us the awful danger which threatened all ecclesiastical and social order from this quarter.‡ The Eichstätt heretic maintained that, by devout worship and contemplation of the Godhead, he had come to be one with God, absolutely perfect and incapable of sinning. The practical consequences which the accused had drawn from his imagined perfection were of a most suspicious nature, and are calculated to substantiate many of the charges, hitherto deemed unjust and incredible,

* Haupt, Ein Beghardenprocess in Eichstätt vom Jahre, 1381, in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, v., 488.

† Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, xviii., 240. Haupt, 52-54.

‡ By H. Haupt, Ein Beghardenprocess, etc., *loc. cit.*, from which the above is taken almost verbatim.

which Mediæval writers have brought against the sectaries of their day;* for, in the opinion of the accused, neither the precepts of the Church nor the laws of common morality, are binding on one who is endowed with the spirit of freedom and perfection; even the gravest breaches of the sixth commandment are, in his case, no sin, so far as he merely follows the impulse of nature; and so firmly is he persuaded of his right to do "what gives him pleasure," that he declares he is permitted to put to death those who oppose him, even if they were a thousand in number.

The appearance of John Wyclif in England was a matter of far greater moment than heresies of this kind, which were forcibly repressed by the Inquisition. The errors of the Apocalyptics and the Waldenses, of Marsiglio, Occam, and others, were all concentrated in his sect, which prepared the transition to a new heretical system of a universal character, namely, Protestantism. His teaching is gross pantheistic realism, involving a Predestinarianism which annihilates moral freedom.† Everything is God. An

* Such is the opinion of the above-mentioned Protestant scholar (p. 491). Regarding a pantheistic sect widely spread in Suabia in the first years of the fourteenth century, see Nider, *Formicarius* (ed. 1517), f. 44 R.

† Hergenröther, ii., 1, 210 *et seq.*; iii., 393-395. See also regarding Wyclif and his system, Hefele, vi., 810-831; Werner, iii., 571 *et seq.*; Höfler, *Geschichtschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung*, iii., 33, 140 *et seq.*; the Monograph of R. Vaughan (London, 1853); F. Böhringer (1856), and more particularly Lechler's great work. The development of this heresy in connection with the peculiar position of English affairs is well brought out by Höfler, Anna von Luxemburg, 106 *et seq.*, 138 *et seq.* R. Buddensieg's publication of J. Wyclif's *Lateinische Zeitschriften aus den Handschriften* herausgeg (Leipzig, 1883), is very valuable. In connection with the fifth centenary of Wyclif there were published two important works: 1. R. Buddensieg, *J. Wyclif and Seine Zeit*, Gotha, 1885. 2. J. Stevenson, *The Truth about J. Wyclif*,

absolute necessity governs all, even the action of God Himself. Evil happens by necessity; God constrains every creature that acts, to the performance of each action. Some are predestined to glory, others to damnation. The prayer of the reprobate is of no avail, and the predestined are none the worse for the sins which God compels them to commit. Wyclif builds his church on this theory of predestination. It is, in his view, the society of the elect. As an external institution, accordingly, it disappears, to become merely an inward association of souls, and no one can know who does or does not belong to it. The only thing certain is that it always exists on earth, although it may be sometimes only composed of a few poor laymen, scattered in different countries.* Wyclif began by a conditional recognition of the Pope, but afterwards came to regard him, not as the Vicar of Christ, but as Anti-Christ. He taught that honour paid to the Pope was idolatry, of a character all the more hideous and blasphemous, inasmuch as divine honour was given to a member of Lucifer, an idol, worse than a painted log of wood, because of the great wickedness he contains.† Wyclif further teaches that the Church ought to be without property, and to return to the simplicity of Apostolic times. The Bible alone, without tradition, is the sole source of faith. No temporal or ecclesiastical superior has authority, when he is in a state of mortal sin. Indulgences, confession, extreme unction and orders, are all rejected by Wyclif, who even attacks the

London, 1885. The latter work contains inedited matter. Wyclif's tractatus de civili dominio liber i. (London, 1885), has been published by the Wyclif Society.

* Lechler, i., 567; Köhler in the *Jahrb. für Deutsche Theol.* (1875), xx., 118.

† See Lechler, i., 582-584, 601, note 3, and K. Müller in the *Histor. Zeitschr.*, N.F., xi., 76.

very centre of all Christian worship, the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar.

These doctrines, which involved a revolution, not only in the Church, but also in politics and society, made their way rapidly in England. Countless disciples,—poor clergy whom Wyclif sent forth in opposition to the “rich Church which had fallen away to the devil,”—propagated them through the length and breadth of the land. These itinerant preachers, in a comparatively short time, aroused a most formidable movement against the property of the Church, the Pope, and the Bishops. But a change suddenly took place. King Richard the Second’s marriage with Anne, the daughter of the King of Bohemia, was a great blow to the cause of Wyclif in England. The Courts of Westminster and of Prague were of one mind in regard to the affairs of the Church and other important political questions, and would have done anything rather than show favour to Wyclif and his companions, or to France and her anti-Pope, Clement VII. *

On the other hand, as this marriage led to an increase of intercourse between England and Bohemia, Wyclif’s ideas found entrance into the latter country. English students frequented the University of Prague, and Bohemians that of Oxford; and Wyclif’s treatises were widely spread in Bohemia. John Huss, the leader of the Bohemian movement, was not merely much influenced, but absolutely dominated by these ideas. Recent investigations have furnished incontestable evidence that, in the matter of doctrine, Huss owed everything to Wyclif, whose works he often plagiarized with astonishing simplicity.†

* Höfler, Anna, 158 *et seq.* The bloody persecution of the Wyclifites began after the accession of the House of Lancaster; see Lechler, ii., 59 *et seq.*

† See Loserth, Hus und Wyclif (Prag, 1884), who finally

The opinions of the Bohemian leader, like those of Wyclif, must necessarily have led in practice to a social revolution, and one of which the end could not be foreseen, since the right to possess property was made dependent on religious opinion. Only "Believers," that is to say, the followers of Huss, could hold it, and this right lasted as long as their convictions accorded with those that prevailed in the country. Argument is needless to show that such a theory destroys all private rights, and the attempt to make these principles—so plausibly deduced from the doctrines of the Christian religion—serve as the rule for the foundation of a new social order, must lead to the most terrible consequences. The subsequent wars of the Hussites evidently owed their peculiarly sanguinary character in great part to these

settles the question as to the relations between these two men. Regarding Huss, see Palacky (*Gesch. Böhmens*, Bd. iii., and *Documenta Mag. Jo. Hus* (Prag, 1869); the useful and exhaustive study of J. A. Helfert, *Hus und Hieronymus* (Prag, 1853), and the works of C. von Höfler, who may in this line be called a pioneer. The most important are *Die Geschichtschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung in Böhmen*, three parts (Wien, 1856 *et seq.*), and the Monograph, *Joh. Hus und der Auszug der Deutschen Professoren und Studenten aus Prag*. Palacky, in his treatise, *Die Gesch. des Husitentums* und Prof. Höfler (1866, 2nd ed., 1867), has shown that Höfler's sources of information were defective; this discovery, however, in no way affects his general view of the subject. The Protestant Pastor, L. Krummel's (*Gesch. der Böhmisch. Reform.* [Gotha, 1866]), attempted vindication of the Hussite movement is, as Schwab in the *Theol. Literatur-Bl.* (1866, p. 665 *et seq.*) has shown, unsuccessful. The work of W. Berger, *Joh. Hus und König Sigismund* (Augsburg, 1871), is, however, deserving of the highest praise. On the side of Catholic theology, we have J. Friedrich (*Die Lehre des Joh. Hus und ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart* [Regensburg, 1862], and *Joh. Hus, ein Lebensbild* [Frankfurt, 1864]); Schwab, 549-609, and Hefele, vii., 28 *et seq.*, 142 *et seq.*, 184 *et seq.*, 211 *et seq.*

views.* If Huss declared war against social order, he also called in question all civil authority, when he espoused Wyclif's principle, that no man who had committed a mortal sin could be a temporal ruler, a bishop, or a prelate, "because his temporal or spiritual authority, his office and his dignity would not be approved by God."

Whether Huss realized the consequences of such doctrines, or merely followed his master, may remain an open question; one thing, however, the most enthusiastic admirer of the Czech reformer cannot dispute—namely, that doctrines which must have rendered anarchy permanent in Church and State imperatively required to be met by some action on the part of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities.† The results of the opinions promulgated by Huss soon became apparent in the Bohemian Revolution in which the idea of a democratic Republic and of a social system based on communistic principles took practical form.

The international danger of Czech radicalism, which also soon made itself "terribly apparent"‡ in Germany was exposed in clear and forcible terms on New Year's Day, 1424, by an envoy of the Cardinal Legate in his

* Zöllner, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Bauernkrieges* (Programm des Vitzthum'schen Gymnasiums in Dresden, 1872), 34-35.

† Zöllner, *loc. cit.*, Helfert, *Hus*, 259 *et seq.* To the expression of L. Blanc already quoted (p. 81), I will here add the words of the latest Apologist of the Hussite doctrine. Ernest Denis, in his work, *Huss et la guerre des Hussites* (Paris, 1878), p. 1, observes: "With Huss really begins the Revolution which is to end in the destruction of Catholic unity."

‡ See Bezold, 113 *et seq.*, and in Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschrift*, N.F. v., 16 *et seq.*; Janssen, *Gesch.*, ii., 396 *et seq.* Regarding Hussite Missionaries in the Diocese of Bamberg from 1418-1421, see Haupt, 31 *et seq.*; and *ibid.* (36 *et seq.*), for the sympathy of Southern Germany with the Hussites.

address to the Polish King. "The object of my mission," he said, "is the glory of God, the cause of the Faith and of the Church, and the salvation of human society. A large proportion of the heretics maintain that all things ought to be in common, and that no tribute, tax, or obedience should be rendered to superiors; a doctrine by which civilization would be annihilated and all government abolished. They aim at the forcible destruction of all Divine and human rights, and it will come to pass that neither kings and princes in their kingdoms and dominions, citizens in their cities, nor even people in their own houses, will be secure from their insolence. This abominable heresy not only attacks the Faith and the Church, but, impelled by the devil, makes war upon humanity at large, whose rights it assails and destroys."*

On the death of Urban VI. (October 15, 1389), the fourteen Cardinals of his obedience assembled in Rome for the election of a new Pope. This was the first vacancy of the Holy See which had occurred since the outbreak of the Schism. The French Court endeavoured to prevent an election, but the Roman Cardinals, perceiving that Clement VII., with whom the Schism began, had no intention of retiring, did not consider it consistent with their duty to deliver the Church completely over to the Avignon Anti-Pope. Accordingly, on the 22nd November, 1389, a new Roman Pope, Boniface IX. (1389-1404) was chosen, who, in order to defend himself against the oppressive exactions by which Clement VII. was exhausting the countries subject to his obedience, was compelled to resort to new financial expedients.† Under him, Rome lost her last relics of municipal independence. The opposition of the University

* Palacky, *Urkundl. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Husitenkrieges* (Prag, 1873), i., 309-314; Bezold, 52-53.

† Phillips, v., 573 *et seq.*

of Paris was unable to hinder a fresh election on the death of Clement VII., in 1394, and the astute Pedro de Luna took the name of Benedict XIII. The numerous endeavours for unity made during this period form one of the saddest chapters in the history of the Church.* Neither Pope had sufficient magnanimity to put an end to the terrible state of affairs, and all efforts to arrange matters were, without exception, frustrated, till it seemed as if Christendom would have to get accustomed to two Popes and two Courts. On the death of Boniface IX. the Roman Cardinals elected Cosimo dei Migliorati, a Neapolitan, aged sixty-five, henceforth known as Innocent VII.

The short Pontificate (1404-1406) of this ardent lover of science and the arts of peace is, however, deserving of notice as exemplifying the interest taken by the Papacy in intellectual culture, even under the most adverse circumstances.† In order duly to appreciate the merits of the pacific Innocent VII. in this matter, we must realize the troubled state of Rome, and the perplexities in which he was involved by the policy of King Ladislaus of Naples and the machinations of the crafty Anti-Pope. Amidst difficulties so immense, Innocent VII. formed the project of rescuing the Roman University, founded by Boniface VIII., from the decay into which it had fallen during recent years of confusion. On the 1st of September, 1406, he

* Regarding the attempts at union, see especially Hefele, vi., 703 *et seq.*, who, however, gives rather a set of extracts from documents than a critical history. Schwab's Monograph on Gerson (especially 118 *et seq.*), and that of Tschackert on Pierre d'Ailly (91 *et seq.*), are also worthy of attention. These works, however, throw little light on many important points. It is much to be wished that someone would undertake a thorough investigation of this much-neglected period.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 294.

issued a Bull,* declaring his intention of bringing back to Rome the study of the Sciences and liberal Arts which, even apart from their utility, are the greatest ornament of a city. He therefore summoned to the Roman University the most competent Professors of every Science. Not merely Canon and Civil Law, but also Medicine, Philosophy, Logic, and Rhetoric were to be studied in this school. "Finally," says Innocent VII., "that nothing may be wanting to our Institution, there will be a Professor who will give the most perfect instruction in the Greek language and literature."

The terms of the Bull, and the enthusiastic praise of the Eternal City with which it concludes, reflect the increasing influence of the Humanistic tendency† in the Roman Court. "There is not on earth," it says, "a more eminent and illustrious city than Rome, nor one in which the studies we desire to restore have longer flourished, for here was Latin literature founded; here Civil Law was committed to writing and delivered to the nations; here also is the seat of Canon Law. Every kind of wisdom and learning took birth in Rome, or was received in Rome from the Greeks. While other cities teach foreign sciences, Rome teaches only that which is her own."

But a few months after the publication of this Bull Innocent VII. died, and accordingly everything was brought to a standstill.‡

The times were certainly little favourable to the Muses,

* On Innocent VII.'s plan for the restoration of general studies in Rome, see Denifle, *Universitäten*, i., 312.

† See Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 649, who attributes the composition of this remarkable document to Poggio. It is given in Raynaldus, ad an. 1406, N. 2, and in Renazzi, i., 273-274.

‡ Niem., ii., 39. Innocent VII.'s endeavours to reform the Court are mentioned by Gobelín Person, vi., 88; Niem., ii., 41.

and yet Humanism continued to advance and make its way into the Papal Court. From the beginning of the fifteenth century we find Humanists in the Papal service no longer isolated individuals, as during the Avignon period, but in great and ever-increasing numbers, and among them, some whose appointment throws a melancholy light on the circumstances of the time. The most striking instance of this kind is that of the well-known Poggio, who became one of the Apostolic Secretaries during the Pontificate of Boniface IX. Poggio held this very lucrative post under eight different Popes, and at the same time filled other offices. For half a century he was employed, with sundry interruptions; but his frivolous nature was incapable of any real affection for the Church or for any one of the Popes whom he served.* He certainly wrote a violent invective against Felix V., the Pope of the Council of Basle, but it would be a mistake to suppose that his pen was guided by zeal for the Church. This may, indeed, be measured by the manner in which he wrote of the death of Jerome of Prague.† His animosity to Felix V. was simply and solely because the Roman Court, by which he lived, was threatened; he was doubtless as indifferent to the contest between the two Popes as to the heresy of the Hussites.

That such a man should have been able to retain his position in the Papal service is to be explained by the sad confusion consequent on the Schism. From the moment when the Parisian Doctors, with their ready pens, and the learned men of many other Universities had taken part in the conflict which was distracting Christendom, the Popes were compelled to look about them for new literary champions, and the frequent negotiations for the restoration

* Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, ii., 2nd ed., 7 *et. seq.*

† See *supra*, p. 30.

of unity made it absolutely necessary that they should have men of talent and education at their disposal. The Humanists offered themselves to meet the need, and many of them eagerly sought lucrative places in the Papal Chancery. This, however, cannot excuse the imprudence with which some of the Popes gave appointments to adherents of the false Renaissance. But in this case, as in many others, circumstances must be taken into account, if we would form a correct judgment. Humanism had already attained great political importance. The time had come when political discourses and state papers, clothed in the grand periods of Ciceronian Latin, exercised an irresistible influence over readers and hearers, producing their effect rather by the beauty of the form than by the substance, or, at any rate, by means of the form obtaining an easier access for the meaning.* When, even in the smaller Courts, the style of the new school was adopted, how could the Papal Chancery have remained behind?† The Humanists had raised themselves to the position of leaders of public opinion; they were well aware of it, and often assumed Imperial airs.‡ The Papacy

* Körting, i., 293, see 449; Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 346; Woltmann, ii., 132; Ottenthal 63; and Müntz, *La Renaissance*, 82 *et seq.*

† The care which the Popes, even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, bestowed on the Latinity of their Briefs is pointed out by Delisle in the *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, sér. iv., t. iv. (Paris, 1858), p. 30.

‡ The estimate entertained by the Humanists of their own powers is shown in the haughty answer given by the banished Filelfo to Cosmo de' Medici: "Cosmo uses dagger and poison against me; I use my mind and my pen against him. I do not want Cosmo's friendship, and I despise his enmity." It is curious also to observe the trouble which Cosmo took to destroy Filelfo's work "On Banishment," which condemned him and his family to the contempt of posterity. Voigt (i., 2nd ed., 367) remarks that "the notion

surrounded on all sides by enemies, was obliged, like the other powers of Italy, to take these facts into account. The terror which the Humanists could inspire even in the most powerful tyrants, is evidenced by an expression of Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan: "A letter of Coluccio Salutato's," he said, "can do more injury than a thousand Florentine knights." The effects of the letters written by this most bitter enemy of the Popes must have been deeply felt by Gregory XI., and were doubtless long remembered by his successors.* Another circumstance is also to be taken into account. Elaborate discourses were so much the fashion that they seemed indispensable on such occasions as the conclusion of a peace, the reception of an Embassy, or any public or private solemnity. Courts and Governments and, in some cases, even wealthy families had their official orators. In the present day music is almost always the accompaniment of a feast; at that time a Latin discourse was the best entertainment that could be provided for a company of cultured men.† It will easily be understood that the Popes deemed it impossible to do without a literary man like Poggio, whose pen was readier than that of any of his contemporaries.

In the time of Innocent VII., Lionardo Bruni, whose that his pen could dispense disgrace or immortality was no mere phantom of Filelfo's conceited brain, but was held by many other highly-educated men." Another appropriate example is given by Voigt, i., 2nd ed., 528 *et seq.*, see 451. In regard to Poggio, Vespasiano da Bisticci (Mai, i., 550) declares that his pen was universally dreaded.

* See the words of Eugenius IV., which we shall give later on. In proof of Salutato's animosity against the Papacy, we may refer to his Epist. Ed. Rigacci, i., 100, 177-181; ii., 29; ed. Mehus (Florence, 1741), 131.

† Villari, i., 103; see Schnaase, viii., 2nd ed., 528, and Paulsen 31.

name has been repeatedly mentioned in these pages, entered the Papal service. Unlike Poggio, he was an adherent of the Christian Renaissance. The circumstances of his appointment are characteristic* of the time. Bruni was recommended to the Pope by Poggio and Coluccio Salutato, and Innocent VII. wished at once to nominate him as Papal Secretary. But an adverse party at the Roman Court objected to Bruni's appointment on the ground of his too great youth, and supported another candidate. It so happened that, at this very time, important Papal briefs had to be prepared with the greatest possible haste, and the Pope offered the post as a reward to the candidate who should best acquit himself of the task. The drafts of the briefs were read in a Consistory before the Pope and the Cardinals, and Bruni gained a decided victory over his rival. From the first year of the Pontificate of Innocent VII., whose example was afterwards followed by Eugenius IV., Nicholas V., and other Popes,† we find the well-known Pietro Paolo Vergerio installed as Secretary in the Roman Court.‡ The marvellously rapid growth of the influence of this school in Rome appears in the fact that this Humanist was appointed to deliver a discourse on the Union of the Church before the Cardinals assembled in Consistory previous to the election of Gregory XII., and that he was not afraid to say very hard things.§ Subsequently, it became

* Papencordt, 495, gives authorities.

† Papencordt, *loc. cit.*, brings this particularly forward.

‡ See C. A. Combi, *Memorie sul Epistolario di P. P. Vergerio* (Venezia, 1880).

§ "Mihi quidem videtur, si nunc voluntate Dei Petrus et Paulus resurgerent a mortuis, huc intra venientes Ecclesiam hanc non recognoscerent: opinor ne magis eam pro sua reciperent quam ipsi reciperentur a nobis. Nam nisi bullas haberent (in quibus ipsi nihil habent nisi effigiem), non haberetur eis fides; vix autem habere fidem possent, si quidem eis neque argentum esset neque

more and more the custom to employ the Humanists, on account of their superior cultivation, in the service of the Popes, both in the Chancery and in Diplomatic situations, and the time was not distant when classical proficiency was the surest road to ecclesiastical preferment. Under Innocent VII.'s successor, Gregory XII. (1406-1415), fresh Humanists, amongst whom was Antonio Loschi of Vicenza, were won to the service of the Papal Court. He composed a new formula for the official correspondence, with the object of introducing a Ciceronian style of Latin. Although he was not able completely to overcome the difficulties involved in the legal nature of the formulas, yet it is the opinion of competent judges that a marked improvement in the Latinity of the Court, especially in those documents less fettered by legal phraseology, is to be dated from his time. Flavio Biondo, one of the most laborious and virtuous of the younger generation of secretaries, expressly said that Loschi had been his instructor in the duties of his office.*

But it is now time to return to the troubles of the Schism. The crisis was drawing near. It came in the Pontificate of Gregory XII.†

aurum," etc. "Cavete, patres conscripti," says Vergerio in another passage, "ne dum urbem custoditis, orbem amittatis et pro exiguo temporali dominio universa spiritualis obedientia depereat;" and again, "Si præsentem occasionem negligitis spe unionis omnino sublata nova statuentur decreta, insoliti excogitabuntur articuli, inveterabitur res ista quemadmodum schisma Græcorum." The discourse has been published by C. A. Combi in the *Archivio Storico per Trieste, l'Istria ed. il Trentino* (Roma, 1882), i., 360-374.

* Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 20. See Giov. da Schio, *Sulla vita e sugli scritti di A. Loschi Vicentino* (Padova, 1856), 106.

† H. V. Sauerland, *Gregor XII. von seiner Wahl bis zum Vertrage von Marseille* in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, xxxiv., 75. As to the validity of the election of Gregory XII., see Heinrich, *Dogm.*

During the earlier years of the Schism, efforts had been made to establish the legality of the one, and the illegality of the other Pope, by means of arguments founded on history and on Canon Law, but in consequence of French intrigues the question had only become more and more obscured. As time went on, conscientious men, who anxiously strove to understand the rights of the case, were unable to decide between claims which seemed to be so equally balanced, while in other cases passion took no account of proofs, and power trampled them under foot.* Despair took possession of many upright minds. The Schism seemed an evil from which there was no escape, a labyrinth from which no outlet could be found.† The path of investigation which, by the lapse of time‡ and in consequence of the prevailing excitement, had necessarily become more and more difficult, seemed to lead no further. The University of Paris, which suffered much from the discord of Christendom, now sought to assume the leadership of the great movement towards unity. In 1394 her members were invited to send in written opinions as to the means of putting an end to the Schism. In order that all might express their opinions with perfect freedom, it was decided that the documents should be placed in a locked

Theol., ii., 419. Raynaldus (ad an. 1406, n. 13) is wrong in giving the 2nd December as the day of election; the correct date (30th November) is known from the *Letter of the Cardinals to Louis of Savoy, d.d. Romæ in palatio apost. die xi. assumptionis præfati domini nostri, x vero decemb. Orig. Mat. eccl. cat. 45. Mazzo, 9, n. 11, in the State Archives at Turin.

* Raumer *Kirchenvers.*, 17-18.

† Gerson, *Opp.* ii., 22. See Flathe, ii., 62.

‡ "Jam desunt morte plures qui facta viderunt,
Deficient omnes,"

cf. infra, p. 173. Note ‡, the above-mentioned poem by Langenstein, v., 622-623. Cod. 320 of the University Library at Breslau.

chest in the Church of St. Mathurin. The general feeling on the subject is manifested by their number, which amounted to ten thousand.* Their examination was to be the work of a Commission formed of members from all the Faculties of the University. Three propositions emerged from this mass of documents. The first was the voluntary retirement of the two Popes (Cessio). The second the decision of the point of law by a commission selected by the two Popes (Compromissio). The third, an appeal to a General Council.† The University recommended the voluntary retirement of both Popes as the simplest and safest course, and as rendering a fresh election of one whom both parties would acknowledge, possible.‡ The endeavours to restore unity

* Schwab, 128. As to the power and authority of the University of Paris, see Budinsky, 18 *et seq.* Good advice was not wanting. An immense number of learned writings treated, sometimes at great length, of the means of suppressing the Schism. For a notice of some which I found in Rome see the Appendix (No. 14).

† This proposal had been made before (see p. 126), but at first the Anti-Pope and his party, and afterwards Urban VI., would not hear of it. See Hefele, vi., 668 *et seq.*

‡ Langenstein, in his *Invectiva contra monstrum Babylonis*, 1393 (University Library, Breslau, Cod. 320), had already urgently recommended the resignation of both Popes, v. 822 *et seq.*

. sponte renunciēt unus
Intuitu Christi spernens insignia papæ
Jam potius quam talia tantaque scandala fiant.
Qui prius hoc faceret Christo gratissimus esset :
Promptus ad hoc placitum sit quilibet ergo duorum.

Coluccio Salutato also, in a letter written in 1398 (in *Martène Thesaur.*, ii., 1155-1165), expresses himself strongly against Compromise and Council, and in favour of the resignation of both Popes: "Hunc modum, hanc viam non humanam sed divinam, sanctissimam, optimam, tutam, certam sine scrupulo et sine murmuratione commendo." The **"Dialogus de tollendo schismate,"* by Giovanni di Spoleto, given in the Appendix (No. 14) also advocates the Resignation. Cod. 44, G. Library of St. Peter's at Rome.

by this means were carried to their further point under Gregory XII., after the failure of the French scheme of forcibly * imposing peace on the Church by the common action of all the western powers. They seemed at first in Gregory's case to promise success, but all hopes of the kind soon proved delusive.†

III.—THE SYNODS OF PISA AND CONSTANCE, 1409-1417 (1418).

THE election of Gregory XII. was due in great measure to the belief that he was earnestly bent on the restoration of unity to the Church, and, in the earlier days of his Pontificate, he certainly seemed full of enthusiasm for this great cause. He assured those around him that, notwithstanding his age, he was ready, for the sake of unity, to meet Benedict,‡ even if he had to take the journey on foot with a staff in his hand, or to cross the sea in an open boat. In his Encyclical, as well as in other Briefs, he expressed himself in a manner which seemed to leave no doubt § that the Schism would soon be at an end. He wrote to the Anti-Pope to the effect that the strife for their respective rights

* See on this subject Theodor Müller's treatise: *Frankreichs Unionsversuch, 1393-1398* (Gütersloh, 1881).

† Sauerland, *loc. cit.*

‡ See the treatise of Sauerland, 90, note 1, cited *supra*, p. 171.

§ The Encyclical is to be found in Martène, vii., 730-733. See Raynaldus, ad an. 1406, N. 16. The Brief which he gives, addressed to the Duke of Cleves, is dated "X. die ab assumptione nostra," which is to be read "XII. die;" the same mode of expression is to be found in the similar Brief of Gregory XII. to Louis of Savoy and Francis Gonzaga, the originals of which I saw in the State Archives at Turin (Mat. eccl. cat. 45, Mazzo 9, N. 12) and in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

ought to cease, and that they should imitate the woman mentioned in Old Testament history, who preferred to give up her real claim to the child rather than consent to have it divided.* Accordingly, when in his answer to this epistle Benedict XIII. offered to abdicate† on the same conditions as Gregory, the restoration of unity to the Church appeared to be certain. But the appearance was deceptive. The embassy which France sent to both Popes to inquire more closely into their intentions, soon made it plain that Gregory XII., who was greatly under the influence of his relations, was as little in earnest in his expressions as was Benedict. The rejoicing of Gerson‡ was premature. The meeting-place of the Popes was a subject of much dispute, and various proposals were made, but the meeting never took place, although Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. came within a few miles of each other.

Contemporary writers and modern historians are agreed in laying on Gregory XII.'s nephews and the Archbishop Giovanni Dominici of Ragusa the chief blame for his conduct in not resigning.§ The hatred with which they consequently were regarded by the promoters of union is

* The Epistle to Benedict (Raynaldus, ad an. 1406, N. 14. 15) was from the pen of Lionardo Bruni.

† Raynaldus, ad an. 1407, N. 1, 2.

‡ See Schwab, 194-195. For the causes of Gregory's change see Hefele, vi., 761-767 *et seq.* Bauer attempts to justify Gregory. Gregor XII. und das Pisaner Concil in the *Laacher Stimmen* (1871), i., 479-498; see also Höfler, Ruprecht 433, and Magister Hus und der Abzug der Deutschen Professoren und Studenten aus Prag. (Prag., 1864) 205.

§ Siebeking, 16. Siebeking (3) is mistaken in placing the death of Dietrich von Nieheim in 1417 during the Council. The real date (as Rattinger in the *Literar. Rundschau*, 1875, p. 214 shows) is March 22, 1418.

manifested in a satire preserved by Dietrich von Nieheim. It purposes to be a letter from Satan to Giovanni of Ragusa, and is full of ironical allusions to personal peculiarities, to various occurrences, and some revolting practices and manners. It is interesting also as an example of that medley of ecclesiastical, scriptural, and heathen ideas which was so popular at this period. This letter must have been written in March, 1408. It concludes by exhorting Giovanni Dominici to continue his opposition to Gregory's resignation, and tells him what he is to expect in another world. Satan, he is informed, has had the hottest place made ready for him in the lowest depths of eternal Chaos, between Arius and Mahomet, where other supporters of the Schism are most anxiously awaiting him. "Farewell, and be as happy as was our dear son Simon Magus,"* are the last words of this curious document.

Gregory's altered attitude in regard to the question of union naturally awakened the greatest uneasiness among his Cardinals, and a party adverse to him was formed in the Sacred College. In order to counterbalance their influence, Gregory, forgetful of the promise he had made in the Conclave, decided to create new Cardinals. There were stormy discussions at Lucca, but they did not deter the Pope from actually nominating four Cardinals. Seven of those belonging to his Court then withdrew to Pisa, and issued two proclamations, by which the breach with Gregory was rendered final. In the first an appeal was made from an ill-informed to a better-informed Pope, to Jesus Christ, to a General Council and to a future Pope.

* See Siebeking, 15-20. For an account of the MSS. copies of the Satire see Rattinger in the *Hist. Jahrb.*, v., 166 *et seq.* Other missives from the Devil are mentioned by Hartwig, ii., 9, note 1.

The second called on the Princes of Christendom to give their support to the movement in favour of union.*

The relations of Benedict XIII. with France also underwent a considerable change at this time. The conviction that this Pope, who before his election had professed the greatest zeal for union,† had no real desire for the termination of the Schism was gaining ground, and on the 12th January, 1408, the King informed him that France would make a declaration of neutrality, if unity were not restored by the Feast of the Ascension. Benedict replied by a simple reference to the ecclesiastical penalties incurred by disobedience to the Pope.‡ In the end of May, France solemnly disowned the authority of Benedict, an example which was soon followed by Navarre, and also by Wenceslaus and Sigismund, the Kings of Bohemia and Hungary. A great national Synod was then held in France, and the principles, in accordance with which the affairs of the Church were to be administered during the period of neutrality, were determined. It was also decided that the benefices of those who should still acknowledge Benedict were to be forfeited.§

These violent measures broke the power of Benedict, whose Cardinals came to an understanding with those who had deserted Gregory XII. As if the Holy See had really been vacant, they at once began to assume the

* Raynaldus, ad an. 1408, N. 9 and 8. See Hefele, vi., 777, 778, note.

† See p. 10 of Th. Müller's treatise, to which we have already referred, *supra*, p. 174. Note *

‡ The letter is given in Martène Collect., vii., 770, and Bulaeus, v., 152-154. The negotiations regarding the renunciation of obedience in the French National Councils of 1398 and 1406 are described in detail in Erler's Treatise, 4-20.

§ See Pückert, 30-31: Regarding the revolutionary character of the French measure, see Laacher Stimmen, i., 344.

position of lawful rulers of the Church, and formally sent out proclamations convening a Council, which was to be assembled at Pisa* on the Feast of the Annunciation of our Lady, March 25, 1409. Both Popes now endeavoured, by summoning Councils of their own, to counteract the rebellion of the Cardinals, but the Council of the latter, although its convocation was, according to the canonical decisions of the time, absolutely illegal, took place and became extremely important.

The increasing desire for the restoration of unity will not alone suffice to explain this astonishing fact. The Synod of Pisa (1409), according to Catholic principles, was, from the outset, an act of open revolt against the Pope.† That such an essentially revolutionary assembly should decree itself competent to re-establish order, and was able to command so much consideration, was only rendered possible by the eclipse of the Catholic doctrine regarding the primacy of St. Peter and the monarchical constitution of the Church, occasioned by the Schism.‡ The utter confusion in theological ideas and the dangerous nature of the anti-papal tendency, partly due to the teaching of Occam and Marsiglio, which prevailed in the principal countries of Christendom at this time, can only be fairly estimated by a

* See Sauerland, 44. Strictly speaking, the Cardinals of each obedience summoned a separate Council, yet from the beginning those who assembled met as a single body, without regard to their divers obediences. See Hinschius, iii., 363 and 365.

† See Gregorovius, vi., 3rd edit., 577-578, who observes that the theory asserted at Pisa of the superiority of the Council over the Pope "was the first great practical step towards liberating the world from the rule of the Pope, and was actually the Reformation." The Pisan Synod is condemned by other Protestants, *e.g.*, by Flathe, ii., 95, and by Lenz, *Drei Tractate*, 2.

‡ See Schwane, *Dogmengesch. der mittl. Zeit* (1882), 557 *et seq.*

comparison of the theories set forth with the doctrine of the Church.

It was the will of Christ that the whole Church should have a single, visible head, so that, by the mutual connection of all the members among themselves, and by the subjection of all these members under one head, the most perfect unity should subsist.* Therefore, a short time before His Ascension, our Saviour, according to His promise (St. Matt. xvi., 17-19), appointed the Apostle Peter, after his threefold profession of love, to be His Vicar on earth, the foundation and centre of the Church, the shepherd of "the lambs and the sheep," that is to say, of the whole company of the redeemed on earth, as related by St. John (xxi., 15 *et seq.*).

The primacy conferred on St. Peter, according to the teaching of the Church,† is not merely a primacy of precedence and honour, but one of supreme jurisdiction, of complete spiritual power and authority. Inasmuch as Christ committed this power immediately and directly to St. Peter, he holds it for the Church, but not *from* her; he is not her representative and delegate, but her divinely-appointed head.

Neither the Primacy nor the Church is a transitory institution. St. Peter was Bishop of Rome, there he died a martyr's death under Nero. It is an article of the Catholic Faith, that all his prerogatives and powers are by Divine appointment transmitted to his lawful successors in the See

* Ecclesiæ unitas in duobus attenditur, scilicet in connexione membrorum Ecclesiæ ad invicem seu communicatione, et iterum in ordine membrorum ad unum caput. . . . Hoc autem caput est ipse Christus, cujus vicem in Ecclesia gerit Summus Pontifex. S. Thom. Aqu., Summa theol., ii., 2, q. 39, a. 1.

† See Hettinger, Fundamental-Theologie, ii., 156 *et seq.*; also Phillips, v., 6 *et seq.*

of Rome. This plenitude of power was from the first contained in the Papacy, but was, of course, manifested only in such measure as the needs of the Church and the circumstances of the time required.* "Like every living thing, like the Church herself," says a modern ecclesiastical historian, "the unique and incomparable institution of the Papacy has its historical development. But this takes place according to that law which underlies the very life of the Church herself, the law of evolution, of growth from within. The Papacy must share all the destinies of the Church, and take part in each phase of her progress."†

The Bishops of Rome, as direct successors of the Prince of the Apostles, according to Catholic teaching, possess by Divine appointment the plenitude of episcopal power over the Universal Church. Supreme, full, and lawful spiritual authority over all the faithful is theirs. In virtue of this supreme authority, all her members, including Bishops, are subject to the Pope; subject, whether we view them as isolated individuals, or as assembled in Council. Far from subjecting the Pope to a Council, the early Church held it as a principle that the supreme authority could be judged by no one. A General Council cannot exist without the Pope or in opposition to him, for, as head of the Church, he is the necessary and essential head of the General Council, whose decrees receive their œcumenical validity solely from his confirmation. As supreme legislator, the Pope can, in matters of discipline, revise and change the decrees of a General Council, as well as those of his predecessors. Former ecclesiastical legislation forms a precedent for his action, in so far as he, being the superior, is by his own example to show respect to the law. The power of the Primacy also contains, comprehended within itself, the

* See Heinrich, ii., 236 *et seq.*

† Döllinger, Kirche und Kirchen, 31-32.

supreme judicial power. Appeal may accordingly be made to him in all ecclesiastical matters; there is no appeal from his judgment to another tribunal; the plenitude of power over the Universal Church, conferred on the Holy See, is limited by nothing but Divine and natural law.*

The Schism, attacking as it did the very centre of unity, brought discussion as to the position of the Pope in the Church into the foreground. In a period of such agitation, the discussion inevitably assumed a revolutionary character most dangerous to the Church. A multitude of theories, more or less openly opposed to her teaching, were brought forward, intensifying the confusion by their abandonment of the solid legal foundations. Many men, who were otherwise strongly attached to the Church, were carried away by these anti-papal tendencies.†

Things had come to such a point that besides the new theory of the superiority of the Council over the Pope, views were asserted and maintained which completely denied the unity of the Church and the divine institution of the Primacy. It was said that it mattered little how many Popes there were, that there might be two or three or ten or twelve; or that each country might have its own independent Pope. Again, it was suggested that it might be the will of God that the Papacy should be for a time, or even permanently, divided, as the Kingdom of David had been,

* Hettinger, *Fundamental-Theologie*, ii., 151, 183-191.

† For instance, Abbot Ludolf of Sagan, the brave champion of the ancient teaching of the Church against the Hussites, zealously defends the clearly unlawful Synod of Pisa against various attacks. Loserth, *Beiträge*, 369, 392, 439 *et seq.* The pre-eminence of the Council over the Pope appeared to him undoubted (see Cap. xlvi. of his *Tractatus de longævo schismate*, *loc. cit.*, 445). A similar confusion of ideas appears in a letter written in 1408 by the General of the Carthusians, Stefano Maccone, whom we have already mentioned (see Tromby, vii.; app. clxxxi-clxxxiii.).

and after the example of human governments which are subject to change. Certainty regarding the will of God was deemed unattainable, but it was thought possible that the efforts to restore unity might really be in opposition to it.*

This last opinion, which may be considered as a consequence of Occam's teaching, was strongly controverted by Heinrich von Langenstein in his "Proposition of Peace† for the Union and Reformation of the Church by a General Council," written in 1381. He looks on the Schism as a thing permitted by God, who, in His wisdom, which constantly brings good out of evil, had not prevented this great misfortune, but would have it bring about the right and necessary reform of the Church. For the accomplishment of this great work he considers that a General Council must be held.

The new and extravagant system which Langenstein put forth in this "Peace Proposal," in order to furnish a theoretical justification for the Convocation of a General Council, is important from its bearing on future events. It is briefly as follows: No especial weight is to be attached to our Lord's institution of the Papacy. The Church would have had a right to appoint a Pope if He had not done so. If the Cardinals should have chosen a Pope who does not suit the Church, she had the right to revise the work of her agents, and even to deprive them of her commission. For the power to elect the Pope rests originally in the Episcopate, and reverts to it if the Cardinals cannot, or will not elect; or if they abuse their right of election. The criterion, by which all acts of Church and State are to be judged, is whether they do, or do not promote the general

* Authorities are to be found in Schwab, 122-133, and Tschackert 5. See Hübler 371, note 19.

† Maurenbrecher, Studien, 307. See Creighton, i., 41.

good. A prince who, instead of preserving the State, would ruin and betray it, is to be resisted as an enemy; the same course should be pursued in the Church. Necessity breaks the law; indeed, even renders its breach a duty. In the present instance of the Schism, however, Langenstein goes on to say, it is by no means necessary to resort to this expedient. Laws are given that human actions may be ordered and measured thereby, but as these actions are innumerable, they cannot be completely comprehended by any law, and therefore, if we would not run counter to the will of the lawgiver, we must look to the spirit rather than to the letter. In the interpretation of every law we must be mindful of the Aristotelian principle of equity (*ἐπιεικεία*). To apply these general notions to the present case, it is not of the essence of a General Council that it should be summoned by the Pope; in extraordinary cases this may be done by temporal princes. The authority of the Council stands higher than that of the Pope and the Sacred College, for of the Church alone is it said that the gates of hell should not prevail against her.*

‡ *Consilium pacis de unione ac reformatione Ecclesiæ in Concilio generali quærenda*, v.d. Hardt, ii., 3 *et seq.* See Schwab, 121-124. Erler., 22. Hartwig, i., 50-55; ii., 28-31. To the MSS. here cited we have to add Cod. 72, Folio of the Town Library at Cologne. See Hübler, 363-365, who distinguishes three phases in the literature prior to the Council of Constance: The theories of necessity, the doctrine of subtraction, and the Pisan Council. The opinion that nothing but a General Council could terminate the Schism was also maintained by Langenstein in his **Epistola pacis*. See Hartwig, i., 42; ii., 27-28. I have seen the following copies of this MS.: 1. Innsbruck, University Library, Cod. 129, f. 149a-159b (breaks off in the middle). 2. Mayence, Town Library, Cod. 241. 3. Paris, National Library, Cod. lat., 1462 (= Colbert, 811), f. 74-85b (only fragments); Cod. lat., 14644 (= St. Victor, 277), f. 142-161b. Cod. St. Victor, 343, cited by Oudin, iii., 1263, I have been unable to find.

These theories, by which Langenstein broke with the whole existing system, soon became widely diffused. Henceforward this most dangerous* doctrine of the natural right of necessity was the instrument used in all efforts to put an end to the Schism.† Not very long after the appearance of the "Peace Proposal," we find Langenstein's view maintained by another German theologian, Conrad von Gelnhausen. His argument is chiefly directed against those "who are never weary of repeating that, even if all the Prelates of the Church came all together, without the authority of the Pope they would form no Council, but merely a Conventicle." The Papacy, according to this writer, is an official position whose authority is derived from the unanimous will of the faithful. Infallibility resides in the whole Church. The individual Pope is fallible, whence it evidently follows that a Council may be lawfully assembled without his authority.‡

Langenstein's principles had the greatest influence on the mind of Jean Gerson. This is shown in the remarkable New Year's Sermon which he preached at Tarascon, in 1404, before Pope Benedict XIII. The constitution of the Church, like every ecclesiastical law, has, he maintained, peace for its object. If a law no longer fulfils this purpose

* "No law, no State would be secure," writes Zimmermann, 8, "if this doctrine were generally received."

† Lenz, *Drei Tractate*, 93. The further development of this idea in the fugitive literature of the day is treated of by Hübler, 364 *et seq.*

‡ Schwab, 124-126. Hartwig i., 60. Lorenz ii., 2nd ed., 313. Budinsky, 123. The language of Matthäus de Cracovia, Bishop of Worms, in his book *De squaloribus Romanæ Curiae* (printed by Walch, *Mon. medii ævi* i., 3-100) is yet more radical than that of Conrad von Gelnhausen. See Budinsky, 151, and the *Correspondenzblatt der Deutschen Alterthumsvereine*, 1873, n. 7. See also Zimmerman, 9-10. Hübler, 364 *et seq.*

it is *ipso facto* repealed. Every means of putting an end to the Schism would be lawful, and the best means would be a General Council.*

It is easy to understand that Benedict XIII. was greatly offended by this discourse. An opposition to its principles also arose among the French theologians and was expressed in the Assembly held in Paris in 1406,† where Guillaume Filastre, the future Cardinal, absolutely denied the right of a General Council to judge or condemn the Pope. Pierre d'Ailly lamented the manner in which certain members of the University of Paris spoke of the Pope, and declared it unlawful to renounce allegiance to Benedict, inasmuch as obedience is not to be refused even to a Pope suspected of heresy. It cannot, in fact, be denied that the theory which permitted such a course, made revolution permanent, for the Pope would be subject, not merely to the judgment of the Church, but to the subjective estimate of the individual.‡

In the meantime, objections to the new theories of Church government were little heeded; faith in the Divine right of the Primacy had been shaken to its foundations; the distress of the Church became more and more intolerable, and the general confusion greater. The attempt to decide between the claims of the different Popes was abandoned, and, as the proposals of abdication and of compromise had proved impracticable, the idea of an appeal to force gained ground; the great object was to find some way of getting rid of the Schism. Dignitaries of the Church, as, for example, Pierre Leroy, the Abbot of Mont St. Michel, openly proclaimed it lawful to disobey a Pope who misused his power. The Parisian Professor Plaoul declared both Popes to be obstinate schismatics, and consequently

* Schwab, 171-178. Zimmermann, 15.

† See Schwab, 186 *et seq.*, and Erler, 24-40.

‡ Hübner, 371, and Zimmermann, 13.

heretics, adding that all their adherents were to be looked upon as promoters of heresy and schism. The extreme urgency of the case, in his opinion, justified the King in summoning a Council, and even made it his duty to do so, and to use all possible means for the removal of the Schism; for, as Plaoul further explained, the obligation of peace, being based on divine and natural law, takes precedence of all constitutions, and annuls all contrary obligations, even oaths. If the Pope hinders peace it becomes necessary to separate from him.*

Theories of this revolutionary description were not confined to France. In Italy, the Republic of Florence, which, especially since the election of Gregory XII., had been most zealous in its endeavours to promote the "holy cause of peace,"† decided, in 1408, that, under existing circumstances, neutrality or indifference in regard to both Popes was the best expedient.‡ In Prague, a German Dominican Friar, Johann von Falkenberg, called Pope Gregory a heretic. He ascribed to the Cardinals the right of deposing their Lord, without admitting that the Pope might deprive them of their dignities.§ In like manner the celebrated Canonist,

* Schwab, 186-188. Tschackert, 124-128. Erler, 19, 22-23. Regarding Plaoul, see Kervyn de Lettenhove in Froissart, xvi., 278 *et seq.*

† Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi, i., 153. Salvi, xx., and Reumont, ii., 1213.

‡ Archives des Missions Scientifiques (Paris, 1865), Sér. ii., t. ii., 440; Commissioni, i., 156, and Desjardins, i., 52-53.

§ *Tractatus magistri Johannis Walkenberg (see Schulte, Quellen ii., 382) ord. prædicat. prof. s. theol. de renunciacione pape, Cod. x., c. 25, f. 267-270. University Library, Prague (see Höfler, Ruprecht, 411), and in Cod. n. 269, f. 338-344, of the Eichstätt Library. In the Prague MS. the treatise concludes as follows:—
" *Et Gregorius data eius pertinacia hereticus est censendus, omne quod ab eo data eius pertinacia actum est vel fuerit, debet omnino

Zabarella, who afterwards became a Cardinal, sought to raise the Sacred College to the position of a standing governing committee in the Church, and thereby to secure for it the lion's share in the contemplated changes. The treatise* in which he put forward this idea is most important, as it gives us for the first time the Council theory in all its fulness. Zabarella ascribes the plenitude of power to the Church, and consequently to the General Council as her representative. The Pope, in his view, is only the highest servant of the Church, to whom the executive power is entrusted. Should he err, the Church must set him right; should he fall into heresy, or be an obstinate schismatic, or commit a notorious crime, the Council may depose him. The Church, or the General Council, cannot sit permanently, and therefore the Pope commonly wields the supreme power. He can, however, issue no decree binding on the whole Church without the consent of the Cardinals, and, if he should differ from them, the Council must decide the matter. It is to be summoned by the Pope, or, in the event of a schism, or of his refusal to summon it, notwithstanding urgent necessity, by the College of Cardinals. If this body is unable or unwilling to act, the duty devolves on the Emperor.† The scope of

cassari. Nec potuit cardinales novos creare nec etiam antiquos privare, et ergo trepidare timore non debent cardinales, ubi timor nullus est, sed confiso in eo, cuius res agitur, . . . inceptum debent perficere et exstirpare schisma antiquatum per electionem unci et indubitati pastoris, successoris Petri et vicarii veri Dei et veri hominis Jesu Christi, qui semper benedictus est et gloriosus in secula seculorum. Amen."

* Published by Schardius, *De jurisdictione imperiali* (Basileæ. 1566), 688-711, composed in the summer of 1408. See Lenz, *Drei Tractate*, 71, note 2.

† Zimmermann, 15-16, thus sums up the tenor of this remarkable treatise, whose extreme importance had already been noticed by Lorenz, ii., 2nd ed., 318.

the General Council was also widely extended. Learned Canonists, like Abbot Pierre Leroy, of Mont St. Michel, taught that the Pope can never alter its decisions, and is bound to acknowledge them, even if they should concern the faith or the general welfare of the Church.*

Revolutionary views of this kind predominated in the Council of seditious Cardinals assembled at Pisa, but they were not allowed to pass uncontroverted. Among their most zealous opponents was the noble King Rupert. He saw that the path in which the Cardinals were engaged, could never lead to unity, but rather to a "threefold division, and to still greater discord and humiliation for the Church and Christendom."† To avert this fresh disaster, he sent a special embassy to Pisa to state his serious objections to the proceedings of the Cardinals. The Ambassadors argued that obedience might not be renounced for the sake of obtaining union, inasmuch as it is not lawful to do evil that good may come; that the Cardinals could not themselves depart from unity in order to unite others; that it belonged to the Pope alone to summon a General Council; that Pope Gregory had been acknowledged and presented to Christendom by the Cardinals as duly elected, but that if his election had been unlawful, their own position must be doubtful.‡ They further contested the legality of a union of the two colleges, inasmuch as the Cardinals of one party could alone be recognized as lawful.§

These and other considerations were, however, unheeded by the Assembly at Pisa. Delusive hopes of union held

* Hübner, 378, 380. Zimmermann, 16. Erler, 33

† Janssen, *Reichs-correspondenz*, i., 142; compare 145.

‡ "Si dubitant de Papatu Gregorii, quare simili ratione non dubitant de suo Cardinalatu?"

§ Raynaldus, ad an. 1409, n. 13-18. Mansi, xxvi., 1188-1256. See Höfler, Ruprecht, 436 *et seq.*, and Hefele, vi., 858 *et seq.*

the better sort captive, and blinded them to the intrigues of Baldassare Cossa, who was leading the Council according to his own interests, and turned a deaf ear to all representations regarding the injustice of these proceedings towards both Popes.* Since many Universities† and learned men expressed their agreement with the new theories, the Synod of Pisa disregarded all canonical scruples, and boldly assumed authority over the two Popes, of whom one must necessarily have been the lawful head of the Church. In vain did Carlo Malatesta, the loyal adherent of Gregory XII., endeavour, even at the last moment, to bring about an understanding between him and the Synod. In vain did this Prince, who was distinguished for his Humanistic culture, and was the noblest of his race,‡ represent to the Cardinals, that their new way might indeed speedily lead to an end, but that the end would be a threefold division instead of unity.§ The Synod of Pisa having in its first session declared itself to be canonically summoned and œcumenical, representing the whole Catholic Church, then proceeded to the trial and deposition of Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. No one seriously believed the assertion by which the Council supported its action. It was declared to be a matter of public notoriety that Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. were not merely promoters of the Schism, but actually heretics in the fullest sense of the word, because by their conduct they had attacked and overturned

* Höfler, Ruprecht, 448.

† The opinion of the University of Bologna, which, however, does not in any way touch the principal objections taken from the *Corpus juris canonici*, is published by Martène-Durand, Coll. vii. 894-897. See Tschackert, 153 *et seq.*, where are also particulars as to the views of Gerson and d'Ailly.

‡ Yriarte, 46; see 54-62.

§ Hefele, vi., 863.

the article of faith regarding the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. Having thus invented a basis of operations, the Synod of Pisa proceeded with feverish haste to the most extreme measures, from which they might reasonably have been deterred by their knowledge that Gregory and Benedict had each an important body of followers, and that the forcible repression of both parties could not be deemed possible.* Without further negotiations with the two Popes, neither of whom had appeared at Pisa, their deposition was decreed, and a new election ordered. The elevation on the 26th June, 1409, of the aged Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, Petros Filargis, a Greek, who took the name of Alexander V., † was the result.

* Such is the opinion of Hefele, vi., 902.

† This Pope has lately found a Greek biographer: Μάρκον Ρενιέρη *Ἱστορικαὶ Μελέται. ὁ Ἑλλήν Πάπας Ἀλέξανδρος Ε; Τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ ἡ ἐν Βασιλείᾳ Σύνοδος. Ἐν Ἀθήναις*, 1881. Alexander V. was no more a lawful Pope than the Council of Pisa was a lawful Council. For as Hergenröther (ii., I, 65) observes, the Council of Pisa was not summoned by the whole Church, nor by a legitimate Pope, nor was it generally acknowledged; it was too much under the influence of France, whose Government, in March, 1409, had promised the Cardinals its support for the Pope to be elected "who will receive his confirmation from the Princes and Bishops." The Cardinals had no right to summon a General Council, especially during the life-time of the lawful Pope, and Gregory XII. had hitherto been such. "Either," proceeds Hergenröther, "Gregory was, or was not legitimate before the Council took place. If he were legitimate, he did not cease to be so by the decision of a headless assembly; if he were not, neither were the Cardinals who elected Alexander V., and their new election was invalid and unlawful. In the first nineteen sittings the Council had no Pope—without a Pope there is no Œcumenical Council. No right existed by which the Pope (if really legitimate, see p. 120, note †, *supra*) could be deposed; if Gregory broke his word, he sinned, but he did not forfeit his Pontificate. If there was no right to depose the Pope there

Instead of two Popes there were now three, for the sentence of the Synod of Pisa had in no way affected the allegiance of the States which recognized Gregory XII. or Benedict XIII. The Assembly which was to have restored unity, had only increased the confusion. Such was the deplorable result of the removal of the established basis of unity. As Pierre d'Ailly had sadly foreseen,* the Council of Cardinals added another and a far more dangerous evil to those which already existed; it created a second Schism, and showed itself absolutely incapable of accomplishing the much longed for reform of ecclesiastical affairs. Reform and union alike came to nothing at Pisa.†

Alexander V. died on the 3rd May, 1410.‡ The Cardinals immediately elected as his successor Baldassare Cossa, who assumed the name of John XXIII (1410-1415). Of all the miserable consequences of the disastrous Synod of Pisa, this election was the worst.§ John XXIII. was not, indeed, the moral monster his enemies afterwards endeavoured to represent him, but he was utterly worldly-minded and completely engrossed by the temporal interests, an astute politician and courtier, not scrupulously conscientious, and more of a soldier than a Churchman.||

was no right to appoint a new one." I do not speak of the literature regarding this question, as Hergenröther has given a full account of it (iii., 351 *et seq.*)

* Tschackert, 152.

† Zimmermann, 18-22.

‡ See *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican (see Appendix n. 16). The description of the embalming of the Pope's body by the celebrated physician Pietro di Argelata has been handed down to us. See Medici, *Compendio storico della scuola anatomica di Bologna* (Bologna, 1857), p. 40.

§ Döllinger, ii., 1, 296.

|| Hergenröther's opinions, ii., 67. Similarly Reumont (ii., 1150-1151): "Whatever this man may have been, he was not the moral

No help for the distracted Church was to be hoped for from him. All eyes, therefore, turned to the powerful and right-minded Sigismund, the King of the Romans, who was necessarily most deeply interested in the termination of the Schism, inasmuch as his Coronation as Emperor in Rome could not take place until Western Christendom was again united under one spiritual head.* He did not disappoint the hopes which were fixed upon him, for the termination of the Schism and the restoration of unity to the Church in the West were in great measure his work.

The mischief wrought by the Synod of Pisa could not, however, check the ever-increasing belief that peace could only be restored by a General Council. Its very fruitlessness drove the more ardent to extreme measures for the deliverance of the Church from the three-headed Papacy. A scandal so terrible made men long for union at any price. The belief that the Emperor, or the King of the Romans was bound, as Protector of the Church, to summon a General Council, came more and more prominently forward. It was forcibly expressed by Dietrich von Nieheim, the author of a work "On the ways of uniting and reforming

monster the Council of Constance endeavoured to represent him. There is no need to heap guilt upon him invidiously and gratuitously, as many of his contemporaries have done, while smarting under the suffering he had caused them. John XXIII. was the incarnation of the spirit of worldliness which, long before his time, had led the Papacy terribly astray, and it is like a sign of an overruling Providence that the Master of anti-ecclesiastical tendencies and of purely political ends should attain the summit of power, at the moment when the conscience of Christendom rose against the lowering of the highest office, and the degradation of the most exalted institution on earth." See also Hefele, vii., 9 *et seq.*, 130-131, note 1, and Reumont in the *Theolog-Literaturblatt*, 1870, p. 748.

* Aschbach, i., 372.

the Church by means of a General Council" (1410), long falsely attributed to Gerson.* Dietrich here distinguishes two Churches; the particular and private Apostolic Church, and the Universal Church which, as the Society of all the faithful, has received immediately from God the power of the keys. Her representative, the General Council, is therefore above the Pope, who is bound to obey her; she may limit his power, annul his rights, and depose him. If the existence of the Church is in danger, she is, according to Dietrich, dispensed from the moral law. The end of unity sanctifies all means: craft, deception, violence, bribery, imprisonment, and death. For all law is for the sake of the whole body, and the individual must give way to the general good.† Dietrich founds his chief hopes on a powerful Roman Emperor or King. "Until there is," he says, "a just, mighty, universal Roman Emperor or King, the Schism will not only continue, but will, we must fear, constantly grow worse." And as, in his opinion, the removal of the Schism and the holding of a General Council cannot

* The authorship of this work is established by Lenz, *Drei Tractate aus dem Schriftencyclus des Konstanzer Concils* (Marrburg, 1876). It was first published by von der Hardt from a Helmstadt MS., and by him pronounced, without any proof, to be from Gerson's pen (i., Pars v., 68-143). Döllinger (*Lehrbuch*, ii., 1, 298, note 1) was the first to express a doubt as to the accuracy of this idea, and the researches of Schwab (482 *et seq.*) showed the doubt to be well-founded. Schwab, however, attributed it to the Italian Benedictine, Andrea da Randulfo, and this view was adopted by Hübner (383, note 40), Lorenz (ii., 2nd ed., 319 *et seq.*) and others. Ritter (*Bonner Theolog. Liter. Bl.*, 1877, 396) sees in the daring sentences of the treatise "*De modis*" the intellectual characteristics of A. da Randulfo, while Zimmermann (25) is inclined to agree with Lenz.

† Hübner, 383-385, who observes that in these maxims ecclesiastical "*Salut public*" culminates, and calls to mind Machiavelli's "*Principe*."

be expected without the King of the Romans, he is bound, under pain of grievous sin, to bring about its meeting.

Sigismund understood how to turn to account the temper of the time, which found expression in the remarkable work of Dietrich von Nieheim. He also knew how to overcome the great obstacles which stood in the way of the Council. Fortune favoured him in a remarkable manner. The conquest of Rome by King Ladislaus (June, 1413) had compelled John XXIII. to escape to Florence, where so dangerous a visitor had not been very cordially welcomed. As the Pope was in urgent need of protection and aid against his enemy, he gave his Cardinal-Legates, Challant and Zabarella, ample powers to come to an understanding with the King of the Romans, who was then at Como, as to the time and place of the Council. After lengthened resistance on their part, Sigismund succeeded in obtaining their consent to the selection of Constance, a German City, as the place of its assembly. This point settled, he hastened to complete the matter, and on the 30th October, 1413, informed all Christendom that, in agreement with Pope John, a General Council would be opened at Constance on the 1st November in the following year, and solemnly invited all Prelates, Princes, Lords, and Doctors of Christendom to attend.* John XXIII., who was completely powerless, had no choice but to submit to Sigismund's will; on the 9th December he signed the Bull which convened a General Council at Constance, and promised

* Bzovius, ad an. 1413, n. 7, von der Hardt, vi., 1, 5-6. See Lenz, 49. While these pages were being printed, Kagelmacher's Filippo Maria Visconti und König Sigismund appeared (Berlin, 1885). In contradiction to the views which have hitherto prevailed, this author endeavours to prove that the position of Sigismund in relation to the Council was not accidental, but the result of strenuous and conscioius effort on his part (p. 4).

himself to be present. As soon as this decisive step had been taken by the Pisan Pope, Sigismund wrote to Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., inviting them to come to the Council, and also to the Kings of France and Aragon, calling upon them to do everything in their power to ensure the accomplishment of the important object it had in view.*

When John XXIII., in his extremity, made up his mind to consent to the convocation of the Council at Constance, he hoped by this act to establish a certain right to direct it, with the assistance of his numerous Italian prelates, more or less in accordance with his own views. Any such hopes, however, proved utterly fallacious, and, if we may believe the Chronicler Ulrich von Richental, who tells us that at the sight of the Lake of Constance John exclaimed "This is how foxes are caught!" even before he set foot in the city, where the Council† was to be held, he had become fully aware of the danger which threatened him. There was, indeed, ample ground for his apprehensions; a feeling most unfavourable to him had become general, and the complete failure of the Council of Pisa had at the same time driven the leaders of the party of union to the adoption of revolutionary opinions. The important treatise of Dietrich von Nieheim "On the ways of uniting and reforming the Church by means of a General Council," which we have mentioned, had already given expression to the prevailing sentiment. The author attacks the worldly-minded

* Aschbach, i., 376.

† U. v. Richental, 25. The words spoken by John XXIII. to Bartolomeo Valori are also remarkable. When the latter warned the Anti-Pope of the dangers attendant on a Council held in a foreign country, he replied: "I am aware that the Council is not in my favour; but how can I contend against my fate?" Vita di B. Valori in Arch. stor. Ital., iv., 1, 262.

Popes and their Courts in the most ruthless manner. Their sins are painted in the darkest colours, while he hardly alludes to those of the rest of the clergy. If his work does not contain the full and perfect truth, it nevertheless bears important testimony to the predominant tone of mind at the period. Few contemporary writings as clearly show how low the first dignity of Christendom had fallen in the eyes of the friends of reform, and how its bearers had come to be despised.* The hostility of the party adverse to John XXIII. soon manifested itself at Constance in the most unmistakable manner. It gained new strength from the arrival of Sigismund, and its first great result was the new mode of voting by nations,† carried through in opposition to the Italians by the Germans, English, and French. Events unfolded themselves with marvellous rapidity after the arrival of the King of the Romans, and John's prospects became more and more gloomy. An anonymous memorial, addressed to the Fathers of the Council and containing most serious charges against the Pisan Pope, produced great effects. His bearing from the beginning of the Council had been irresolute, and now he lost heart altogether. In dread of judicial proceedings, he solemnly promised to give peace to the Church by an absolute surrender of the papal power, if Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. would likewise abdicate. But this step was not taken freely or in good faith. Meanwhile the language of the party of reform became more and more decided. John, who was kept well informed of all that passed by his

* Schwab, 492. Lenz, *Drei Tractate*, 91, also points out that Nieheim's pictures and opinions are exaggerated. Zimmerman, 29; Siebeking, 14, and *Hist. Jahrb.*, v., 166, mention other bitter satires and witticisms of the period.

† There does not seem to have been any formal decree of the Council on this matter. See Schmitz, 13, and Tschackert, 206.

spies,* at last came to the conclusion that nothing but bold and sudden action could save him, and on March 19th, 1415, with the connivance of Duke Frederick of Austria, he fled "on a little horse" to Schaffhausen,† disguised as a messenger.

The deed was one of desperation, and occasioned the greatest confusion and alarm amongst those assembled at Constance. The Italians and Austrians left the city and gathered round their Princes; merchants, fearing a riot, packed up their wares, and the Burgher-master called the citizens to arms.

During this stormy episode, the party which looked on a definite limitation of Papal rights as the only means of suppressing the Schism and reforming the Church discipline, gained the upper hand. The General Council was to effect this limitation, and accordingly it was held that the Pope must be subject to its jurisdiction; many, indeed, would have rendered this subjection permanent.‡ With characteristic precipitation it was decided in the third, fourth, and fifth Sessions that a General Council could not be dissolved

* Niem, *Vita Johannis XXIII.*, in von der Hardt., ii., 389.

† See U. v. Richental, 62. For the date of March 19, see Guasti, *Gli avanzi dell' Archivio di un Pratese vescovo di Volterra*, in the *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, 4 Serie (1844), xiii., 206. In the City Archives of Strasburg (AA 138), I found in a *letter of Count Palatine Louis to Strasburg (Geben zu felde vordem heiligen crutz nach Cristi geporte in dem vierzehenhundersten u. funffzehenden jare off den samsstag nach des heiligen cruces tag invencion = May 4) the following description of the Anti-Pope: They are "schen nach einem der ein walche und nit dutsche und auch ein feisster man sy, er habe an pfaffen oder leyen cleidere."

‡ Werner, iii., 706. He shows (703 *et seq.*) that the theory of the superiority of the Council to the Pope had been opposed by the supporters of the Papal power in the earliest stage of the negotiations for the removal of the Schism.

nor prorogued by the Pope without its own consent ; that the present Council continued in full force after the flight of the Pope ; that everyone, even the Pope, must obey the Council in matters concerning the faith and the extirpation of the Schism, and that it had authority over the Pope as well as over all Christians.*

By these decrees a power which had not been instituted by Christ† was constituted supreme over the Church, and this was done in order to provide the Assembly of Constance with a theoretical basis on which to act independently of the Pope. But, although defended by d'Ailly and Gerson, they never received the force of law. They proceeded from a headless Assembly, which could not be an Œcumenical Council since it was not acknowledged by any Pope, while one of the three must certainly have been the lawful head of the Church. Moreover, the method of procedure, by a majority of votes, had no precedent in the ancient Councils, and these decrees were carried against the Cardinals by a majority composed in large part of unauthorized persons. It was evident, then, that they could only be regarded as an act of violence, an expedient to put an end to the existing confusion. It was possible, indeed, to interpret the words, asserting the supremacy of the Council over the Pope, in a sense which limited their application to the Schism of the day, and they were thus understood by many, both at the time and afterwards. But, in the intention of their authors, their signification was general and dogmatic, and amounted to the introduction of a new system, subversive of the old Catholic doctrine. No dogmatic importance, however, can possibly be attached to

* For the authentic text of the Decree see J. Friedrich in the *Sitzungsber. der Münch. Akad. Phil.-histor.* Kl. 1871, p. 243-251.

† Phillips, i., 250-251.

them. The Assembly of Constance was no General, or representative, Council of the Church, and they never received Papal confirmation.* The great mistake of those assembled at Constance was to take that which may have seemed a matter of necessity under extraordinary circumstances, as a general rule for all times, and to consider it possible that a General Council could be held without the Pope, and in opposition to him, an idea as extravagant as would be the supposition that a body without a head† could be a living organism. The necessary consequence of this attempt to carry out reforms by means of the Episcopate alone was, as a modern Canonist‡ well observes, that in the next century many denied the authority of both Pope and Bishops.

The firmness and prudence of Sigismund had been the chief means of frustrating the attempt made by John XXIII. to disperse the Assembly at Constance, and the fate of this Pope was soon decided. He had already been arrested and confined in Radolfzell, and, after a trial, was, on the 29th May, solemnly and formally deposed; utterly broken in spirit, he submitted without remonstrance to the sentence of the Synod.§

* The opinion given in the text is shared by Hergenröther; see his *Anti-Janus*, 129-130, and *Kirchengesch.* ii., 1-78. See also Döllinger, *Lehrbuch*, ii., 1, 303-307. Phillips, i., 250 *et seq.*; iv., 435 *et seq.* Dux, i., 165 *et seq.* Schulte, *System*, 183. Hettinger, *Fundamentaltheologie*, ii., 188. Regarding the attitude of Martin V. towards the decree of the Supremacy of Councils, see Zimmerman, 66-68.

† Hefele, i., 2nd ed., 54-55; vii., 104, 372-373. Alzog, ii., 10th ed., 33 *et seq.* See also Chmel., Friedrich, iv., 1, 450, and Dux i., 251 *et seq.*

‡ Phillips, iii., 324.

§ In order to restrain John XXIII. from further intrigues, King Sigismund handed him over to the Count Palatine Louis, to

The deposition of John XXIII. nullified the work of the Synod of Pisa, and brought things back to the position they had occupied, before it had decreed the deposition of Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. The election of a new Pope ought logically, therefore, to have taken place, but such a measure would not have advanced matters a step, and accordingly the Synod was in an untenable position * when Gregory XII. solved its difficulties by his magnanimous resolution to abdicate. The way in which this was done is of the highest significance, and must by no means be viewed as a concession in non-essentials to the assembled Bishops. Gregory XII., the one legitimate Pope, sent his plenipotentiary, Malatesta, to Constance, where the prelates of his obedience had already arrived, and now summoned the Bishops to a Council. His Cardinal-Legate, who had made his entry into the city as such, read Gregory's Bull of Convention to the assembled Bishops, who solemnly acknowledged it. Malatesta then informed this Synod, which Gregory XII. had constituted, of his abdication (4th July, 1415). His summons had given the Synod a legal basis; the Bishops of the third obedience gradually joined it, while Benedict XIII., with but three Cardinals, fled to the fortress of Peñíscola, thus proclaiming

whom, as Judge of the Empire, his custody naturally belonged, and whose aversion to John removed all apprehension of his liberation. Louis had him brought to the Palace, and there the unfortunate man was surrounded by German keepers, with whom he could only communicate by signs. He employed himself in writing verses on the transitory nature of all earthly things. In 1418, when Louis had fallen out with Sigismund, he set the deposed Pope free for a ransom of 38,000 florins. See Häusser, i., 277-278, and Arch. Stor. Ital., iv., 429 *et seq.* In the year 1418 there were many who did not consider the forcible deposition of John XXIII. to have been lawful. Leon. Aretinus, Comment. 930-931.

* Phillips, i., 256.

himself a schismatic before the whole Church. The Holy See was, therefore, now acknowledged and declared to be vacant, and it became possible to proceed to the election of a successor to Gregory XII.*

"If even we admit the proposition," observes the Canonist † from whom we have taken the above account, "that Gregory XII.'s fresh convocation and authorization of the Council were a mere matter of form, this form was the price to which he attached his abdication; and it meant nothing less than that the Assembly should formally acknowledge him as the lawful Pope, and accordingly confess that its own authority dated only from that moment, and that all its previous acts—in particular those of the fourth and fifth Sessions—were devoid of all œcumenical character. The recognition of Gregory XII.'s legitimacy necessarily included a similar recognition of Innocent VII., Boniface IX., and Urban VI., and the rejection of Clement VII. and Benedict XIII."‡

* *Loc. cit.*, 256-257. "The favourable result obtained at Constance," observes R. Bauer (*Laacher Stimmen*, 1872, ii., 187), "was not the consequence of a course of action like that which had been pursued at Pisa. When the same line was pursued at Constance, there was every reason to fear that a fourth Pope might be added to the three who already existed, and that the vicious circle of events might repeat itself indefinitely. The magnanimous conduct of Gregory XII., and the upright, unwearied, if not in all respects prudent, zeal of Sigismund, did far more under God to avert this terrible misfortune than any of the efforts of the Council."

† Phillips, iv., 437-438. See also Creighton, i., 224, and Abert, 47.

‡ The formal deposition of Benedict XIII. by the Council took place on the 26th July, 1417. For the previous fruitless negotiations for union see Aschbach, ii., 141 *et seq.* Hefele, vii., 244 *et seq.* See Döllinger, *Materialen*, ii., 377 *et seq.* Schmitz, 27 *et seq.*, shows that Benedict XIII. was supported in his obstinacy by French influence. Maimbourg (*Hist. du schisme d'Occident*, ii., 297)

In gratitude for the concession which he had made, the Council conferred upon Gregory XII. the Cardinal Bishopric of Porto, with the permanent Legation of the March of Ancona, and rank second only to that of the Pope; he did not, however, long enjoy these dignities, as he died on the 18th October, 1417. His last words were, "I have not understood the world, and the world has not understood me."*

From the resignation of Gregory XII. till the election of Martin V. the Apostolic See was vacant, and the Church was ruled by the Council to which the Cardinals belonged. The Council, during this period, undertook the administration and temporal government of the States of the Church,—a remarkable fact, which clearly proves them to be the property of the whole Church.†

After the burning of John Huss (July 6th, 1415) matters regarding the third point of the great programme of the Council—the reform of the Church in her head and members—principally occupied its attention. The great majority of the Assembly were of one mind as to the need of reform. "The whole world, the clergy, all Christian people, know

speaks of Benedict XIII. as "un des plus grands hommes de son siècle"!!

* Capelletti, *Storia di Venezia*, v., 334. The speedy death of Gregory was regarded as a sign that he had been the true Pope, God not having permitted that another Pontiff should be elected during his lifetime. See Salvi, cxliii. For an account of Gregory's grave, see F. Raffaelli, *Il monumento di P. Gregorio XII. ed i suoi donativi alla Cattedrale Basilica di Recanati* (Fermo, 1877).

† See Mathieu, 415. Theiner-Fessler, 30 *et seq.*; see also 32 *et seq.*, evidence of the reasons which prevented the right of exercise of the temporal power in the States of the Church, at that time devolving on the Cardinals. The Council confirmed Cardinal Isolani as temporal and ecclesiastical Vicar of Rome. See Arch. della Soc. Rom., iii., 403.

that a reform of the Church militant is both necessary and expedient," exclaims a theologian of the day. "Heaven and the elements demand it; it is called for by the Sacrifice of the Precious Blood mounting up to heaven. The very stones* will soon be constrained to join in the cry." But while this necessity was generally recognized, the members of the Council were neither clear nor unanimous in their views as to the scope and nature of the reform. Various measures were proposed, especially for the amendment of the Papal Court, but few of them were practicable.† When the details came to be considered the countless difficulties which ultimately rendered the labours of the Council in this matter so ineffectual became more and more apparent.

Contemporary writings clearly show the existence of a widespread dislike of the higher clergy, not only amongst the laity, but also amongst the inferior ecclesiastics. An immense number of absolutely revolutionary discourses preached at Constance by monks and clergy of the lower ranks, bear witness to this feeling.‡ The Cardinals were detested by the majority of those who formed the Assembly at Constance, and they had repeatedly to complain of grievous slights put upon them. The treatment which they had to expect may be gathered from the singular fact that on the 17th April, 1415, a Prelate brought forward a proposal for their exclusion from all deliberations regarding Union and Reform.§ It was not indeed carried, but it showed the Cardinals the greatness of the danger which threatened them. They dexterously met it by an effort to get the matter into their own hands, and in the end of

* Matth. Roeder in *Watch*, ii., 34-35.

† Zimmermann is also of this opinion, 44.

‡ Zimmermann, 29.

§ See W. Bernhardt, *Der Einfluss des Cardinal-Collegs auf die Verhandlungen des Constanzer Concils*, *Leipziger Diss.*, 15.

July moved that a Committee should be appointed to deliberate on the reform of the Church. The opposition aroused by this step was overcome by the eloquence of d'Ailly. The Cardinals' motion was passed, and the first Committee was appointed, between the 26th July and the 1st of August. It consisted of eight deputies from each nation, and three Cardinals.* The conflict of various interests made it impossible to come to any agreement on the most important questions. In the autumn of 1416 negotiations came to a complete standstill. Some powerful impulse was wanted to keep up the interest in the Council, which flagged more and more, wearied out by the monotony of interminable discussions.†

In regard to the smallness of the results achieved by it, a Protestant‡ writer has justly observed: "Few perhaps lacked goodwill, but all lacked courage to begin the conflict against the network of interests which covered all the ground. If the work were once seriously undertaken, it was hard to see where it might end."

The resistance naturally offered by the Conservative element to any change in the constitution of the Church, exercised a great influence on the cause of reform. This struggle absorbed all energies, and divided the Council into two camps at a time when united action alone could have led to success. Another circumstance also came into play.

The Constitution of the Church is an organic body, and a reform of one part must necessarily react on the whole. The chief aim of by far the greater number at Constance was the removal of special pressing abuses, and the

* *Ibid.*, 20.

† Hübner, 16. See Schwab, 648, 671.

‡ Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 42. The measures taken by the Council for the reform of the Benedictines are mentioned by Evelt, 129.

protection of special concerns. Considerations of the general good were postponed to those regarding particular interests.* No party would begin by reforming itself; each wished for reform in the first place at the cost of another. Unanimous action was out of the question in this conflict of parties.

We must also give due weight to the influence of national and political interests. Church and State, in the views of that time, were by no means unconcerned with each other. Civil and ecclesiastical life were most closely bound together, and, as a necessary consequence, every effort to reform the Church awakened national and political opposition. The removal of abuses by reverting to a simple principle, was, under these circumstances, impossible; † relations were so entangled that every change was like a Revolution. "Church Reform," to quote the words of a modern historian, "was the Tower of Babel; every imaginable language was spoken in the Assembly, and opinions were as numerous and as conflicting as the nationalities gathered together at Constance." ‡

The conflict of interests was intensified by the system of division into nations adopted in the Council, which opened the door to party spirit and national jealousy. This new organization of the Assembly, though framed with the sole purpose of counteracting the preponderance of the Italian

* Schwab, 670, see 647.

† Lenz, 156. In Germany especially it had already been proved that the Empire could not be reformed without a reform of the Church, while a reform of the Church could not be accomplished without that of the Empire. See Höfler, Ruprecht, 56 and 408. How the cry for the reform of the Church was joined with that for the reform of the Empire we learn from the *Informationes Pilei archiepiscopi Januensis* in Döllinger, *Materialen*, ii., 301 *et seq.*, and other sources.

‡ Caro, 5.

prelates, was in great measure responsible for the failure of the work of reform. Even those, who looked with sympathy on the introduction of new modes of deliberation and voting, acknowledge this fact.* "The reform which one nation desires, another rejects," wrote Peter von Pulka,† the Envoy of the University of Vienna. Under these circumstances, it was impossible to foresee how long the Church would remain without a head, if, according to the wishes of Sigismund and the German nation, the election of a new Pope was to be deferred until the reform had been accomplished. Discussions of a most violent nature soon arose on this question. The struggle was at last concluded by a compromise, which the aged Bishop of Winchester, the uncle of the King of England, brought about.‡ According to its terms, a Synodal Decree was to give assurance that, after the election, the reform of the Church should really be taken in hand; those Decrees of reform, to which all the different nations had already given their consent, were to be published before the election, and the mode of the election was to be determined by deputies.

Accordingly, on the 9th of October, 1417, in the thirty-ninth General Session, five Decrees of reform, on which the nations had agreed, were published. The first concerned the holding of General Councils, which were henceforth to be of more frequent occurrence; the next was to be held in five years; the following one, ten years later; and after that, one every ten years. The second Decree enacted precautionary measures against the outbreak of a

* O. Richter in his treatise cited in the History of Eugenius IV., p. 5.

† See *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte*, xv., 57.

‡ Further information regarding the Bishop of Winchester's mission may be found in Lenz, 172 *et seq.*, and Caro, 94 *et seq.*

fresh Schism; the third required every newly-elected Pope, before the proclamation of his election, to lay before his electors a profession of his faith. The remaining Decrees limited the translation of Bishops and Prelates, and abolished the Papal rights of *spolia* and procuration. Regarding the election of a new Pope, it was agreed on the 28th of October that, for this time, thirty other Prelates and Doctors, six from each nation, should be associated with the Cardinals present at Constance. This decision, as well as the Decree for securing reform, was immediately published in the fortieth General Session, on the 30th October. The Decree was to the effect that, before the dissolution of the Council, the new Pope was, with its co-operation, or with that of deputies of the nations, to take measures for ecclesiastical reform, especially in reference to the Supreme head of the Church and the Roman Court.*

The Conclave began on the evening of the 8th November, 1417, in the Merchants' Hall at Constance, which is still visited by every traveller, and on St. Martin's Day the Cardinal Deacon Oddone Colonna came forth as Pope Martin V.†

* See Hübler, 33 *et seq.* Hefele, vii., 321 *et seq.*

† The first account of this Conclave from original sources is given by Lenz, 181-195. See Caro, 95, note 2. C. Scheu's work, Conclave in Konstanz (Radolfzell, 1878) is of little value. On the 23rd December, 1417, Martin V. informed his brother Lorenzo of his election as Pope, which had taken place on the 11th November "hora quasi decima." * The original of this letter: "Dil. filio nob. viro Rentio de Columna germano nostro," is in the Colonna Archives at Rome (iii. B. B. xvi., n. 5). See Theiner, Cod. ii., 219 *et seq.*, where a similar letter to Viterbo and Corneto is given.

BOOK II.

THE RESTORATION OF THE PAPAL POWER AND ITS STRUGGLE WITH THE COUNCIL—THE ORIGIN OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ROME, 1417-1447.

I. MARTIN V. (1417-1431).

THERE was indeed cause for the unbounded rejoicings over the restored unity of the Church, which re-echo through the pages of the ancient chronicles of this period.* "Men could scarcely speak for joy," says one of these writers. The Church had again a head—the great Western Schism was at an end. These nine and thirty years of division were the most terrible crisis the Roman Church had passed through during the long centuries of her existence. An uncompromising opponent of the Papacy has acknowledged that any secular kingdom would have perished; yet so marvellous was the organization of this spiritual dynasty, and so indestructible the idea of the Papacy, that the Schism only served to demonstrate its indivisibility.†

The new Pope, a man in the full vigour of life, belonged to one of the highest and most powerful families of Rome; he was distinguished by his simplicity, temperance, purity,

* Von der Hardt, iv., 1483. See Ægidius of Viterbo's*
**"Historia viginti sæculorum,"* Cod. C. 8. 19, f. 277 of the Angelica Library in Rome. A copy of the **"Historia"* is to be found in a MS. in the library at Dresden. See Schnorr v. Karolsfeld, *Handschriften der Dresd. Bibl.*, i., 364.

† Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 620.

knowledge of Canon Law, and many other virtues, and had kept comparatively aloof from party questions. Without in any way sacrificing his dignity, he had been on friendly terms with all those assembled at Constance. The despatches of Ambassadors present at the Council speak with the highest praise of the gracious bearing of the Pope. This noble Roman, in fact, seemed to combine all the qualities that could enable him worthily to fill his high position.*

The election of Martin V. might have been a source of unalloyed happiness to Christendom, if he had at once taken the crucial question of Church Reform vigorously in hand; but the Regulations of the Chancery issued soon after his accession showed that little was to be expected from him in this respect. They perpetuated most of the practices in the Roman Court which the Synod had designated as abuses. Neither the isolated measures afterwards substituted for the universal reform so urgently required, nor the Concordats made with Germany, the three Latin nations, and England, sufficed to meet the exigencies of the case, although they produced a certain amount of good.† The Pope was indeed placed in a most difficult position, in the face of the various and opposite demands made upon him, and the tenacious resistance offered by

* See Aschbach, ii., 300. Finke in the *Strassburger Studien* (1884), ii., 424. Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 622. For an account of the family of Colonna, see Litta, f. 55; A. Coppi, *Memorie ecc.*; Reumont, *Beiträge*, v., 3 *et seq.*, 399 *et seq.*, and Th. Wüstenfeld in the *Gött. Gel.-Anz.*, 1858, N. 102 *et seq.* In a *letter to the Secretary of the city of Strasburg, dated Constance (1417), November 17, Heinrich Kilbt says of Martin V.: "Post ejus assumptionem non bibit nisi de vino meo quod est Elsaticum." The original is in the City Archives at Strasburg AA. 166.

† See Schwab, 662-670, and Hübler, 42 *et seq.* V. de la Fuente, 434 *et seq.*

interests now long established to any attempt to bring things back to their former state.* The situation was complicated to such a degree that any change might have brought about a revolution. It must also be borne in mind that all the proposed reforms involved a diminution of the Papal revenues; the regular income of the Pope was small and the expenditure very great. For centuries, complaints of Papal exactions had been made, but no one had thought of securing to the Popes the regular income they required. The States of the Church could only be defended by mercenary troops; the Court and the Cardinals were a cause of great expense; a large outlay was needed for the Legations, and all these things were bound up with the centralized organization of the Church, which no one wished to attack. A Pope could not preside in Apostolic simplicity over Bishops who kept up a princely state.† It must also be added that Italian affairs urgently demanded the speedy return of the Pope to Rome.

The delay of the reform, which was dreaded by both clergy and laity,‡ may be explained, though not justified, by the circumstances we have described. It was an unspeakable calamity that ecclesiastical affairs still retained the worldly aspect caused by the Schism, and that the much-needed amendment was again deferred.

Sigismund made every effort to induce Pope Martin V. to take up his abode in Germany; Basle, Mayence, and Strasburg were proposed to him as places of residence, and the French begged him to live in Avignon, as so many of his predecessors had done. But Martin would not on any account become dependent on a foreign power, and firmly

* Such is the opinion of Döllinger, ii., 1., 313.

† W. Wattenbach, *Geschichte des Römischen Papstthums*.

‡ See p. 30 of the above mentioned treatise of W. Bernhardt (p. 203, *supra*).

declined all these proposals. In the absence of its chief Pastor, the inheritance of the Church was, he said, rent and despoiled by tyrants; the City of Rome, the head of Christendom, was devastated by pestilence, famine, sword, and revolt; the Basilicas and the shrines of the Martyrs were, some of them, already in ruins, and others about to fall into that state. In order to prevent complete destruction, he must go; he begged them to let him depart. The Roman Church being the head and mother of all churches, in Rome alone is the Pope at his post, like the pilot at the helm of the vessel. *

The condition of the States of the Church undoubtedly demanded the return of the Pope, and Martin V. acted prudently in resolving to make his way back to Italy and to his native city. Amidst the rejoicings of the people, he journeyed through Berne to Geneva. Here he heard of the disturbances which had broken out in Bohemia in consequence of the burning of Huss, and received the oath of allegiance of the Avignon Ambassadors. On the 7th September, 1418, it was determined to transfer the Papal Court to Mantua.† On his way, Martin V. tarried in

* Platina, *Vita Martini V.*, 653. See * "Historia viginti sæculorum," by Ægidius of Viterbo, Cod. C. 8. 19, f. 278 of the Angelica Library in Rome. The French desired not only that the Pope should reside in France but also that the next Council should be held there. See Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi, i., 292. The Epistola di Alberto degli Albizzi a Martino V. (Bologna, 1863), 18 *et seq.*, 23, urged his speedy return to Rome: "Voi siete aspettato a Roma," it says, "non solamente dagli Italiani, ma da tutti quegli che hanno reverenzia al venerabile nome di Cristo."

† The Pope's departure from Constance took place on the 16th May, 1418, the Council having been closed on the 22nd April. For an account of the journey of the Pope see Contelorius, 12 *et seq.*; Raynaldus, ad an. 1418, n. 36 with Mansi's note, and the * Acta consistorialia of the Consistorial Archives in the Vatican (Appendix No. 16).

Milan and consecrated the High Altar of the Cathedral. An inscription in the interior over the great portal, and a medallion of the Pope in the gallery of the choir, commemorate this circumstance.*

The Pope remained in Mantua from the end of October, 1418, until the following February. The critical position of affairs in the States of the Church then compelled him to spend nearly two years in Florence. He lived in the Dominican Monastery of Santa Maria Novella, where the apartment prepared for him long bore the name of the Pope's Hall† (Sala del Papa). Here Baldassare Cossa (John XXIII.), having been at length released from his captivity, came humbly to throw himself at the feet of the Pope, showing more dignity in adversity than he had done in prosperity. Martin received him kindly, and appointed him Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum (June 23, 1419), but on the 22nd December, 1419, he died, so poor that there was hardly enough to pay the legacies he left!‡ The costly monument erected to this unhappy man by Cosmo de' Medici is still to be seen in the Baptistery at Florence. His

* Beneath the monument is an inscription from the pen of the Humanist Giuseppe Brippi in praise of the Pope. There are several mistakes in Kinkel's (2929) otherwise admirable essay on this monument; he gives Briccius as the name of the composer of the epitaph, and considers the memorial to have been erected a short time after the death of Martin V. From the *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano*, ii., 73-74 (Milano, 1877), however, it appears that the date is 1437; the inscription is printed in the *Annali*, and also given by Palatius, 486, and Ciaconius, ii., 824.

† Reumont, *Beiträge*, iv., 304. L. Landucci, *Diario Fiorentino*, ed. J. del Badia (Firenze, 1883), 2, 357.

‡ See L. Aretinus, 930 *et seq.* Ciaconius, ii., 831. Fabronius, *Cosmus*, ii., 10. Ajazzi, *Ricordi storici di Filippo di Cino Rinuccini dal 1282 al 1460* (Firenze, 1840), lviii. *Arch. stor. Ital.*, iv., 429 *et seq.* Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, i., 2nd edit., 14.

recumbent statue rests on a sarcophagus beneath a canopy, and the short but pregnant inscription declares that "The body of Baldassare Cossa, John XXIII., once Pope, is buried here." "This tomb," a modern historian observes, "is the boundary mark of an important epoch in the life of nations, the monument of the great Schism and also the last grave of a Pope out of Rome."*

The better Martin V. became acquainted with the condition of affairs in his native land, the more clearly did he perceive that nothing was to be accomplished by violence. Rome and Benevento were now in the hands of Queen Joanna of Naples. Bologna was an independent Republic, and other portions of the States of the Church had been usurped by individuals. The Pope had to deal with this hopeless situation by diplomatic measures. In the first place he succeeded in coming to an understanding with the Queen, to whom he promised the recognition of her rights and his consent to her coronation, which was performed by the Cardinal-Legate Morosini, on the 28th October, 1419; Joanna, on her part, bound herself to support the Pope in the recovery of the States of the Church, and to grant considerable fiefs in her kingdom to his brothers.† In consequence of this agreement, Joanna, on the 6th March, 1419, ordered her General, Sforza Attendolo, to evacuate Rome.‡ By the mediation of the Florentines, Martin V. succeeded, in February, 1420, in coming to terms with the daring Condottiere, Braccio di Montone, who controlled half central Italy, and passed for one of the ablest military leaders of his day. Braccio, as Vicar of the Church,

* Gregorovius, Grabmäler, 84.

† A. Coppi, 168. Minieri-Riccio, ii., 1, 64-65; see p. 227, *infra et seq.* Morosini's journey from Mantua to Naples took place according to the *Acta consistorialia, on the 1st December, 1418.

‡ Minieri-Riccio, ii., 1, 58-59.

retained Perugia, Assisi, Todi, and Jesi, in consideration for which he gave up his other conquests, and in July, 1420, constrained the Bolognese to submit to the Pope. It was at length possible for Martin V. to proceed to his capital; he left the city of Florence on the 9th September, 1420, reached Rome on the 28th, and made his solemn entrance into the Eternal City on the 30th. The people enthusiastically welcomed him as their deliverer.*

Martin V. found Rome at peace, but in such a state of misery that, as one of his biographers observes, "it hardly bore the semblance of a city."† The world's capital was completely in ruins, its aspect was deplorable, decay and poverty met the eye on every side. Famine and sickness had decimated its inhabitants and reduced the survivors to the direst need. The towers of the nobles looked down upon foul streets, encumbered with rubbish and infested with robbers both by night and by day. The general penury was so extreme that, in 1414, even on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, no lamp could be lighted before the Confession of the Prince of the Apostles!‡ A chronicler

* Infessura (Eccard, Corp. hist., ii., 1, 1873) gives the 29th September as the day of entry. I think, however, that the statement of the *Acta consistorialia is to be preferred. Regarding the derisive verses on the Pope sung in Florence, see Cipolla, 380; they were not the special ground of his departure (*ibid.*, 384, N. 2). Mathieu, 417 *et seq.*, shows that the Pope was occupied about the restoration of the States of the Church even before his arrival.

† Vita Martini V., in Muratori, iii., 2, 864.

‡ Muratori, xxiv., 1043. Fresh light is thrown on the fearful state of Rome at this period by the Biography of St. Frances of Rome, lately published by Armellini; see xiii.-xiv., 2, 4-5, 8, etc., and Adinolfi, Portica di S. Pietro, 89, 184 *et seq.*, 188 *et seq.* In 1402 the Servite Fathers of San Marcello were obliged to sell their Convent Library in order to procure the absolute necessities of life; see Serapeum, ii., 320. The poverty into which St. Peter's fell in

relates that many of the clergy had neither food nor raiment, from which the sad condition of the rest of the people may be imagined.

The city in which these poor creatures lived consisted of a few miserable dwellings scattered through a great field of ruins. Many monuments which had survived the calamities of the Avignon period, had been destroyed during the terrible years of the Schism. Amongst these was the Castle of St. Angelo, which, in the spring of 1379, was demolished, all but the central keep, containing the room where was the grave of Hadrian.* The other relics of antiquity had met with the same barbarous treatment. Manuel Chrysoloras, who was in Rome towards the end of the fourteenth century, wrote word to his Emperor at Constantinople, that scarcely any ancient sculpture remained standing; it had been used for steps, for door-sills, for building and for mangers for beasts; the colossal figures of the Dioscuri were the only specimens of the work of Phidias and Praxiteles to which he could still point. If any statues were found, they were mutilated or completely destroyed as heathen; moreover, the ancient edifices were used as quarries for building materials, and for burning into lime.† The other structures in the City had also suffered dreadfully during the vicissitudes of the Schism; most of the houses had fallen, many churches were roofless, and the early days of the Schism appears from the *Martyrologium benefactorum Basilicæ Vaticanæ, Cod. 57 H. of the Library of St. Peter's.

* Boniface IX. caused St. Angelo to be rebuilt in the form of a tower by Niccolo d'Arezzo; and this remarkable memorial, "whose history is a picture of Rome in the camera obscura" (Gsell-Fels, *Rom.*, ii., 468), preserved this form until the explosion of a powder magazine in 1497. See Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 493 *et seq.*, 661.

† Papencordt, 493. See Reumont, iii., 1, 3 *et seq.* (*Rom. nach dem Schisma.*)

others had been turned into stables for horses.* The Leonine City was laid waste; the streets leading to St. Peter's, the portico of the church itself, were in ruins, and the walls of the City were, in this quarter, broken down, so that by night the wolves came out of the desolate Campagna, invaded the Vatican Gardens, and with their paws dug up the dead in the neighbouring Campo Santo.†

Such was the condition of Rome at the time when Martin V. returned; everything, so to speak, had to be restored. The Pope devoted himself to the work before him with a zeal and resolution which revealed the born Roman. Even while at Florence, he had appointed a Commission to superintend the restoration of the Roman churches and basilicas, and had furnished considerable sums for the purpose.‡ The work was commenced in good earnest, after he had taken up his residence in Rome; he began with those things which were most necessary. The public parts of the Vatican, as, for instance, the Consistorial Hall and the Chapel, as well as the Corridor connecting the latter with the Loggia of Benediction, were repaired, and windows were put in everywhere. The first thing to be done in the city was to clear away the filth and rubbish, which filled the streets and poisoned the air. Martin V. accordingly revived the ancient office of Overseer of the Public Thoroughfares (*Magistri viarum*) by appointing two Roman citizens, whose duty it was to make the streets again passable. At the same time he gave them

* *Diarium Antonii Petri* (an eye-witness), in Muratori, xxiv., 977, 979, 985, 1003 *et seq.*, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1014, 1031, 1035, 1050.

† See the evidence of a *document from the Archives of the Campo Santo at the Vatican, of which we shall say more in the History of Eugenius IV.

‡ Müntz, *La Renaissance*, i., 8-9.

absolute powers of expropriation and demolition, available against all previous appropriation of public spaces and buildings, and all grants of exemption, even when they were protected by the threat of excommunication. Strong measures were taken against the brigandage which had become a real plague* in the City and its neighbourhood. We find documents in which mention is made of the regulation of prisons; and a Papal Minister of Police, under the name of "Soldanus," appears on the scene.† For the sake of example, some of the robbers' nests in the neighbourhood of Rome were razed to the ground. The frugal Pope did not care to keep up a large standing army; even the Body-Guard for the defence of the Palace was very modest. It consisted chiefly of subjects‡ of the Pope, and was the predecessor of the Swiss Guard. A strong tower was built at Ostia to prevent smuggling, and to serve as a watch tower against pirates and enemies by sea.§

Of all the buildings in Rome, the Pope made the neglected churches the object of his special care. Perceiving the impossibility of himself providing for them all, he turned to the Cardinals and urged them to restore their titular churches; the appeal was not made in vain.|| The Pope himself undertook the parochial churches and the

* "Roma stava molto scoretta e piena di ladri," writes Infessura, 1122, adding that the bandits did not spare even the poor pilgrims who came to Rome.

† Kinkel, 2929-2930. Müntz, i., 12-14, 16-17, N. 6. Theiner, Cod. dipl. iii., 290-291. Bull, iv., 716-718.

‡ "Pedites de Interamne," Müntz, i., 14. See Theiner, Cod. dipl. iii., 269-270. Martin V.'s frugality in the matter of soldiers was held up to Calixtus III. in a * Poem which I found in Cod. 361 (f. 4) of the Riccardi Library at Florence:

§ Kinkel, *loc. cit.* Guglielmotti, ii., 134 *et seq.*

|| Details are given by Müntz, i., 2, N. 3.

chief basilicas, and did everything on a magnificent scale.* He contributed the enormous sum of 50,000 golden florins for a new roof to St. Peter's; the portico was also completely restored, and, according to some accounts, decorated with paintings representing the lives of St. Peter and St. Paul.†

Martin V.'s restorations in St. John Lateran, the cathedral church of the Popes, were even more important. This noble basilica, which had been terribly injured by fire, was newly roofed with wood and floored with a beautiful inlaid pavement, the ruinous churches of the more distant parts of the City and neighbourhood being, for this purpose, despoiled of their porphyry, granite, and serpentine. For the painting of the walls of the nave he summoned the famous Gentile da Fabriano, who was employed here from the year 1427. Vittore Pisanello was afterwards associated with him. Gentile was munificently paid by the Pope; he received a yearly salary of three hundred golden florins, while Bevilacqua, of San Severino, the cannon-founder and engineer, had only a hundred and twenty; and, at a subsequent period, the justly-celebrated Fra Angelico da Fiesole received but two hundred. The mural paintings in the Lateran, which were completed under Eugenius IV., were unfortunately destroyed by damp during Pisanello's lifetime. They were, however, seen by the eminent painter Roger van der Weyden, when he made a pilgrimage to

* Regarding the means by which the resources were obtained, see v. Ottenthal in the *Mittheilungen*, v., 440-441. * A Brief, addressed by Martin V. to the Archbishop of Tarantaise, and the Bishop of Maurienne and Bellay, dated Rome, 1429, April 24th, desires that a third part of the funds derived from fines imposed upon ecclesiastics should be applied to the restoration of the Roman churches. I found this document in the State Archives at Turin, *Mat. eccl.*, 42. Mazzo, 1, N. 17.

† Müntz, i., 9-12. See Contelorius, 17 *et seq.*, and Mazio, 19. See also Müntz in the 5th Vol. of the *Mém. d'Archéol. et d'Hist.*

Rome and visited the Lateran basilica in the jubilee year of 1450 ; on which occasion he pronounced Gentile to be the first among Italian painters.*

Masaccio, the great Master of the Tuscan School, in the first half of the century, and teacher of the later painters, was also attracted to Rome by Martin V. In Vasari's time, two of his works, a Madonna and a painting of Pope Liberius with the features of Martin V., were still to be seen in the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore.†

Afterwards, during the peace with which Martin's prudence blessed the States of the Church, the financial position of Rome improved and the walls of the capital were restored, the Palace of the Conservators was rebuilt, and many gates and bridges over the Tiber were placed in a proper condition. Martin V. erected for himself a modest Palace on the western slope of the Quirinal, near the Church of the Holy Apostles Saints Philip and James, and this was his favourite residence from the fourth year after his arrival in Rome. He also built a strong and stately castle in the picturesque village of Genazzano, which is situated on a tufa rock at the beginning of the Æqui and Hernici hills, at no great distance from Palestrina, the ancient stronghold of the Colonna family, and there the Pope and his nephews often spent the summer.‡ But, with these two exceptions, the works which he accomplished were rather works of restoration, imperatively demanded by the circumstances of his time, than original creations.§

* Müntz, i., 14-16, 31. Kinkel, 2930. Reumont, iii., 1, 374, 515. Crowe-Cavalcaselle, iv., 115. Rasponus, 31, 38, 52, 87-88. Müntz, *La Renaissance*, 58. For a just estimate of Gentile see Woltmann-Wörmann, ii., 210.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 375. Vasari-Lemonnier, iii., 158.

‡ Müntz, i., 16-18. Kinkel, *loc. cit.* See Contelorius, 35.

§ Kinkel, *loc. cit.* For an account of medals with the inscription "Dirutas ac labantes urbis restaur. eccles.," see Bonanni,

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that Martin V. was devoid of the taste for splendour. On the contrary, while his frugal mode of living laid him open to the imputation of parsimony,* he made a great point of appearing with the utmost magnificence in religious ceremonies.† While at Florence, he ordered a richly embroidered cope and a golden tiara, whose beauty was spoken of after the lapse of a hundred and fifty years. For the tiara eight delicately wrought little golden figures between leaves of the same metal were supplied by Lorenzo Ghiberti, and a costly clasp for the cope, representing our Saviour giving His blessing. But the regular commissions which the Pope gave for certain constantly-recurring occasions did even more for the encouragement of artists than those of so exceptional a nature. Caps and swords of honour were presented each New Year to Princes or other distinguished personages; every Cardinal received a ring on his creation, and golden roses were bestowed each year on Laetare Sunday, hence called Rose Sunday, on Princes or eminent men, and ladies of high rank, churches, or municipalities whose loyalty the Pope desired to secure. These roses had golden stems, and were set with precious stones. We must also mention the many richly-embroidered banners, bearing the arms of the Pope and the Church, and sometimes the figures of Saints, which were generally given to ensign-

20-21, and Venuti, 4. Martin restored the churches of Velletri (Borgia, 351-352), and encouraged the restoration of other churches. See his * Bull of May 14th, 1421, in regard to the Church of St. Dominic at Venice (its site is now occupied by the Public Gardens). The original is in the State Archives at Venice, Bolle pontif.

* Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi, ii., 249, 303. St. Antoninus, xxii., c. 7, §3. See Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, ii., 2nd ed., 24, and Palacky, iii., 2, 519 note.

† Vita Martini V., in Muratori, iii., 2, 860.

bearers and Captains of the Church. Martin V. was obliged to go to Florence for almost all these things. Art could not flourish in a city so impoverished as Rome had become, and there was no demand for it. But the impulse given by his munificence could not fail in time to tell on the Eternal City.* The Papal mint at this time attained a

* Müntz, i., 18-30; ii., 309-312. Kinkel, *loc. cit.* Woltmann-Wörmann, ii., 255. Arch. stor. Lomb. (1878), v., 800. Further particulars about the Golden Roses are to be found in Moroni, lix., 111 *et seq.*; Gatticus, 19, 20, 82; Cancellieri, De secret., 534, 1792; Delicati, Diario di Leone X. (Roma, 1884), 108 *et seq.*, and the Monographs of A. Baldassarri (Venezia, 1709), and C. Cartari (Roma, 1681), which are founded on the rich ancient literature. See also Cod. Vatic., 8326: *Memorie sopra la rosa d'oro e sua istituzione e benedizione, Vatican Library. Golden Roses are preserved in the Clugny Museum in Paris, and in the rich Chapel at Munich. I have to thank the kindness of Prebendary Dr. Friedrich Schneider, of the Cathedral of Mayence, for the following additional authorities and notices in regard to the Golden Roses: Durandus, Rationale divin. Officior., lib. vi., c. 53, n. 8 *et seq.* (ed. Lugd., 1568, p. 311 *et seq.*). Catalani in the Pontificale Rom. (ed. Paris. 1851), ii., 563. Card. Poli. Exegesis de . . . rosa. Otte, Kunstarchäologie, i., 4th ed., 250, N. 6. Guéranger, L'Année Liturg. Carême, p. 373. The "Hallische Heilthum" of Albert of Brandenburg, which was afterwards transferred to Mayence, possessed one of these Roses. Illustrations of its contents are given in a splendid Codex in the Castle Library at Aschaffenburg. In the little book of wood-cuts—"Das Hallische Heilthum"—there is a picture of it (copied in Otte, *loc. cit.*). In the Cod. Aschaff., No. 1, there is a coloured picture of it, natural size, with the following legend:—"Zum erstenn wird ewer lieben und andacht. getzeigt eyne Rosse, gemacht vonn Golde, Byesem, Balsam unnd Eedelnem gesteynnen, dye hat gesegnet unnd gebenedeyett gotseliger gedechtnus der allerheyligste in got vater unnd Herr, unsrer Herr Leo aufs gottlicher vorsichtigkeit der zehende Babst dess nahmens zur mitfastenn und dormitt begabet unsern gnedigstenn Herrn den Cardinal zu eyner besondern ehre dyesser Stifftkirchenn der Heyligen Sanct Moritz und Marien Magdalenenn allhyer zu Halle.

degree of excellence which it never lost, even during the subsequent decay of taste.*

Notwithstanding the solicitude with which Martin V. watched over every branch of the administration, the recovery of the Eternal City was extremely slow. The work of destruction had been so terrible, that, even in the days of his successor, a historian described Rome as a city of cowherds.† Yet it cannot be denied that a general change for the better set in from the time that the Papacy was again permanently established there. Martin V. devoted his whole attention to the restoration of prosperity and order, and it was no flattery which bestowed on him the name of the Father of his country.‡ The political independence of the city of Rome was indeed at an end, but it retained ample liberty of action in all internal affairs.§ Martin V. left the municipal constitution of his native city absolutely untouched; by his desire, the rights and privileges of Rome were recorded by the Secretary of the Senate, Niccolò Signorili, in a book, of which copies are preserved

Neyget ewer Hertz und Heppt unnd entfahet. dormit dye Benedeyunge." This Rose is also lost.

* Reumont, iii., 1, 426. See Cinagli, 42-44. The volumes of Registers belonging to the reign of Martin V. bear witness to the stability and quiet which had replaced the previous confusion; they become more numerous, and are divided into regular series, which become more connected. Sickel in the *Mittheilungen*, vi., 311. See v. Ottenthal, *Bullenregister*, p. 41.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, Eugenio, iv. (*Mai. Spicil.*, i., 21). See Fabronius, *Cosmus*, ii., 86.

‡ Regarding the Pope's unwearied care for Rome, see also l'Epinois, 402 *et seq.*, and Morichini, 232.

§ Papencordt, 469. Mathieu, 419. The *extracts "ex regesto dominorum conservatorum tempore Martini V., S.P." in Cod. iv., 60 of the Borghese Library in Rome, are of great value in relation to the internal history of the City at this period.

in several of the Roman Archives and Libraries.* The Romans easily forgot their loss of political independence, beneath the sway of a Pope whose one object was to heal the wounds inflicted on their unhappy city during the prolonged absence of his predecessors. He showed how much could be accomplished by an energetic Prince: even the plague of brigandage, which has always been so prevalent among the races of Latin origin, seemed to have been completely banished from the States of the Church by his vigorous measures. "In the time of Martin V.," to quote the words of a Roman chronicler, "a man might travel by day or by night through the country, miles away from Rome, with gold in his open hand."† "So great were the quiet and peace all through the States of the Church," says a biographer of the Pope, "that one might have imagined the age of Octavianus Augustus to have returned."‡

But Martin V. not only laid the foundations of the restoration of the Eternal City, but also those of the Papal

* The most ancient copy of Niccolò Signorili's ("Pop. Rom. secretarius") work, "De juribus et excellentiis urbis Romæ" is in the Colonna Archives, but is not Signorili's autograph. See de Rossi in the *Studi e documenti* (1881), ii., 2, 84, N. 1 (see also de Rossi, "Le prime raccolte di antiche iscriz, 7, and *Bullet.* 1871, p. 4). Later copies are in the Borghese and Corsini Libraries in Rome (see Lämmer, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 132), and also in the Vatican Library (Cod. Vatic., 3536; see Cancellieri, *De Secret.*, 782-783; in Cod. Vatic., 7190 there is only a fragment), and Cod., I.C., N. 35, of the Brancacciana Library at Naples.

† *Memoriale di Paolo di Benedetto di Cola dello Mastro dello Rione de Ponte, Cronache Rom.*, i. See Infessura, 1122.

‡ Muratori, iii., 2, 866. The author of the other Biography of Martin, also given by Muratori, although very unfriendly towards the Pope, is constrained to admit: "Item suo tempore tenuit stratas et vias publicas securas, quod non fuit auditum a ducentis annis et circa," *loc. cit.*, 858.

monarchy, and his action in this respect is of the highest importance. The Schism had utterly disorganized the States of the Church; they existed only in name, a motley mixture of governments, constitutions, rights, privileges, and usurpations. The task which devolved on the new Pope was little short of superhuman, but he undertook it with a courage and energy which were equalled by his skill and prudence. He has the great merit of having been the first to prepare the way for transforming this conglomeration of communities and provinces, with their particular rights, heterogeneous constitutions and indefinite pretensions, into a united monarchy. He limited and curbed the power of the independent princes who ruled the cities, a hundred years before they were completely done away with. It has been justly observed that his labours would have been still more effectual, if a consistent course had been pursued in the States of the Church, and if the unquiet and troubled rule of his successor had not in great measure destroyed what he had accomplished.*

Circumstances favoured the Pope to a remarkable degree. The man from whom he might have apprehended the ruin of all his projects, Braccio di Montone, who had threatened to compel the Pope to say mass for a bajocco, died in the June of 1424. In consequence of his death, which was a cause of great rejoicing in Rome, Perugia, Assisi, Jesi, and Todi again submitted to the direct authority of the Holy See. From this moment may be dated the steady growth of Papal power, which was also favoured by the family feud that divided the great house of Malatesta, and by the fact that many cities were weary of the galling

* Reumont, *Beiträge*, v., 53. The manner in which Martin V. entered into the details of the government of the States of the Church, is shown by Reumont, iii., 1, 68.

yoke of their tyrants.* Martin's course for the next few years was a series of successes. Imola, Forlì, Fermo, Ascoli, San Severino, Osimo, Cervia, Berinoro, Citta di Castello, Borgo San Sepolcro and many other cities gradually submitted to him.† Bologna, which had been brought into subjection by Braccio di Montone, again revolted in 1428. The gates of the Palace were burst open, the Palace itself was plundered, and the Papal Legate constrained to fly. By the mediation of the Venetians and Florentines, terms were made in the following year between the Pope and the revolted Bolognese. Both Martin and his Ambassador, Domenico Capranica, evinced great moderation and forbearance in the negotiations, for even after the second insurrection they allowed the city to retain its own constitution.‡

Martin V. also strengthened his temporal power by family alliances. By the union of his niece Caterina with Guido da Montefeltre, he won that powerful house com-

* L. Aretinus, 932.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 63-64. Sugenheim, 317 *et seq.* Balan, v., 88 *et seq.*

‡ See Cronica di Bologna, 623, and Ghirardacci, Istoria di Bologna, T. iii., lib. 30. Cod. 768 of the University Library at Bologna. See Quirini, Diatriba, ccxvi. Ruggerius, xxiii., and 113-114. Catalanus, 17. Cronica di Ronzano e Memorie di Loderingo d'Andalò (Bologna, 1851), 58, 109-110. For some account of the mediation of the Florentines, see *Nota ed informazione a voi Maestro Agostino Romano, generale de' frati Heremitan, ambasciadore del commune di Firenze al Santo Padre ecc. Marzo, 1438 [st. Flor.], Cl. x., dist. i., n. 23, f. 74-75, State Archives at Florence. Fresh disturbances broke out in Bologna in July, 1430. See Erolì, Erasmo Gattamelata da Narni (Roma, 1876), 21 *et seq.* Fermo also rebelled in 1428. See Fracasetti, Mem di Fermo, 38.

pletely to his interests.* His sister Paola was married to Gherardo Appiani, Lord of Piombino, and endowed with lands.† The Pope provided for his relations in the most munificent manner.

It has been the custom to condemn the "excessive nepotism" of Martin V. with great severity, but the circumstances of the time diminish the blame that may be due to him in this respect. These circumstances cast the Pope upon his nephews for aid, for when he came to Italy, a landless ruler whom the urchins in the streets of Florence derided in their songs, where could he look for support except to his relations? Little was to be expected from the other Roman nobles, whose strongholds were like nests of robbers, and whose life was one of wild warfare; from the leaders of mercenary bands, who were wont to leave their troops in the lurch, if their own safety required it or the hope of richer gain attracted them; or, again, from Queen Joanna of Naples, the most inconstant of women. It cannot be denied that the affection of Martin for his family was inordinate, but self-preservation, even more than family affection, was the motive which impelled him to seek the exaltation of the Colonnas.‡ In the midst of a powerful and quarrelsome aristocracy, at the head of a hopelessly distracted State, in an unquiet city always ready for revolt and riot, it was but too natural that Martin V., if he wished to keep a firm footing, should lean on his kindred and increase their power.§

* Ugolini, i., 223. Other projects of marriage for Caterina are mentioned by Osio, ii., 105 *et seq.*

† Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi, ii., 160.

‡ Gregorovius agrees in this opinion (vii., 3rd ed., ii.). See A. Coppi, 167 *et seq.*, and the *Riflessioni sopra il nepotismo* in the *Civ. catt.* 1868, ii., 395 *et seq.*

§ See Villari, i., 54.

The aggrandizement of the Colonna family began when Queen Joanna, in return for her recognition and coronation, invested the two brothers of the Pope with important Neapolitan fiefs. On the 12th May, 1418, Giordano Colonna was created Duke of Amalfi and Venosa, and on the 3rd of August, 1419, Prince of Salerno; the other brother, Lorenzo, became Count of Alba, in the Abruzzi.* At a later date, we find him also in possession of Genazzano in the Æqui Hills, which is full of reminiscences of the Colonnas. Death soon carried away both Giordano and Lorenzo from their riches and honours; the latter was miserably burned in the tower of one of his castles in 1423, and Giordano died of the plague in the following year, leaving no heir.† By his marriage with Sveva Gaetani, Lorenzo left three sons, Antonio, Odoardo, and Prospero. Antonio became Prince of Salerno and head of the family, Prospero was a cardinal, and Celano and Marsi fell to Odoardo.‡

The Neapolitan fiefs were but a portion of the landed possessions which the Colonna family acquired by means of Martin V. Great additions were made to the considerable estates they already enjoyed in the near and remote neighbourhood of Rome; the stronghold of Ardea, the ancient capital of the Rutuli, Marino, which commanded the shortest route to the south, Nettuno, beautifully situated on

* A. Coppi, 168. Minieri-Riccio, ii., 1, 64-65. *Queen Joanna's command to Marc Antonio di S. Angelo, Count of Salerno, to put Giordano Colonna in possession of the Principality, is dated 1420, March 11, Colonna Archives, iii. BB., xxxv., No. 9.

† See Poggii Epist. ed. Tonelli, i., 116. Platina (688) commends the resignation with which Martin V. bore the loss of his brother.

‡ Litta, *loc. cit.* See Carinci, *Lettere* 124 *et seq.*, regarding Sveva Gaetani.

the shores of the Mediterranean, Astura, which formerly belonged to the Frangipani, Bassanello in the Sabine valley of the Tiber, Soriano in the territory of Viterbo, Paliano in the valley of the Sacco, afterwards the most important of their strongholds, Frascati, Petra Porzia and Rocca di Papa were all conferred by the Pope on his kindred, and most of these castles were exempted from the salt tax, the hearth tax, and all other taxes whatever.*

The list we have given, although not a complete one, shows that Martin went beyond the bounds of justice and the necessity of circumstances, in favouring his relations. The honours and riches heaped upon the Colonnas excited the jealousy of the other ambitious nobles of the States of the Church, and more especially that of their hereditary foes, the Orsini. Martin V. was prudent enough to treat this powerful family with the utmost consideration. Even before his arrival he had invested them with the vicariate of Bracciano for three years,† and he afterwards endeavoured to secure their goodwill by the marriage of his niece Anna with Gianantonio Orsini, Prince of Tarento.‡

* Reumont, *Beiträge*, v., 54 *et seq.* See Contelorius, 55. Ratti, 29. Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., ii. The castle of Frascati and the fourth part of the ruined stronghold of Petra Porzia, were sold to the Prince of Salerno by the Lateran Chapter on the 30th December, 1423. Lateran Archives, FF. i., 47.

† *Bull of Martin V., d.d. Florentiæ Cal. Sept. A° II° (1419, Sept. 1): "Dil. filiis nob. viris Francisco, Carolo et Ursino de Ursinis domicellis Romanis, etc." There is a copy in the *Liber bullarum* (ii., A. T. xxxix.) of the Orsini Archives in Rome. Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 12) seems to think that it has never been published, but this is a mistake, as it is given by Theiner (*Cod.* ii., 242 *et seq.*).

‡ Litta, *loc. cit.* The extraordinary power of the Princes of Tarento is mentioned by Antonius præpositus Forosempronii in a *letter to Paola Gonzaga, dated 1428 Dec. 10, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, E. xxv., N. 3.

The life of Martin V. was simple and regular; the only recreation he cared for was to retire to the delicious solitude of his family property, when the heat of summer or some pestilential epidemic made Rome insupportable. Sometimes he visited other spots in the neighbourhood of the Eternal City, on several occasions making a lengthened sojourn at Tivoli. In his later years, he showed a marked preference for the Castle of Genazzano. He repeatedly varied his place of abode in Rome; in the earlier years of his Pontificate spending the winter months at the Vatican, and the summer and autumn at Sta. Maria Maggiore. In May, 1424, he removed to the newly-erected Palace of the Holy Apostles, which henceforth became his favourite residence. In the autumn of 1427 Martin V. went for a short time to the Lateran, which shows that at least some rooms there must have been restored.*

His energy as a reformer was displayed in the sphere of religion, no less than in that of politics. Very soon after his return to Rome he took measures against the heretical Fraticelli,† who were at work chiefly in the Marches; he endeavoured to reform the clergy of St. Peter's, and to do away with the worst abuses at the Court.‡ In the early

* Valuable information regarding the Pope's various places of residence is given by Poggio's letters (ed. Tonelli, i.), and especially by the *Acta consistorialia, in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. The above particulars are derived from these sources. See also Pagi, iv., 513 *et seq.*

† See Raynaldus, ad an. 1418, N. 11; 1424, N. 7; 1426, N. 18; 1428, N. 7-8. Wadding, x., 101 *et seq.* Bull., iv., 690 *et seq.* Bernino, iv., 72-73. Petrini, Mem. Prenest., 170. Baldassini, 132-135. Moroni, lxxvii., 79. With regard to the Pope's solicitude for the integrity of the Faith, see the numerous documents in Wadding (vol. x.) and the remarkable **Brief to the Chapter of Tournay. Regest, 359, f. 17. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Raynaldus, ad an. 1421, N. 22. Zimmermann, 78.

part of his Pontificate, he made constant efforts not only to protect the clergy from the aggressions of the temporal power, but also to amend their lives. As time went on, other interests unfortunately became predominant, and withdrew him more and more from the work of reform. The remarkable energy which he manifested in this cause during the first half of his reign* has, however, been little appreciated.

Martin V. also sought to increase devotion to the relics existing in the Eternal City, and carefully provided for their fitting custody.† A new and precious relic, the body of St. Monica, the mother of the great St. Augustine, was brought to Rome, from Ostia, by his desire. He caused its arrival to be celebrated by a special solemn function, at which he himself offered the Holy Sacrifice. Afterwards he addressed a striking discourse to the Augustinian Hermits whom he appointed guardians of the sacred remains, and to the assembled crowd. A passage in this discourse has a peculiar interest, inasmuch as it proves

* See Raynaldus, ad an. 1424, N. 3 *et seq.*; 1425, N. 19. Zimmermann, *loc. cit.* Hefele, vii., 409 *et seq.* Schieler, 251. Regarding Martin's efforts for the reform of the religious orders, see also Pirro, *Sicilia sancta*, ii., 984. Bullarium, iv., 678-679, 689-690, 697 *et seq.*, 702 *et seq.*, 732-747. For an account of monastic reform in Bavaria (1426), see the document cited by Geiss, *Gesch. der Pfarrei St. Peter* (München, 1868), p. 37. On the 23rd June, 1420, Martin V. issued from Florence an *Ordinance for the restoration of discipline in the monasteries of men and women in the dominion of the Pfalzgraf Ludwig of the Rhine. State Archives of Lucerne (Section, Archives of the Franciscans). On the 29th April, 1421, he entrusted the Cardinal of St. Mark (Guillaume Filastre) with the visitation of the Abbey of Springiersbach and the restoration of regular observance in the Augustinian Order: see *Cod. D., xv., d., l. f. 17 *et seq.*, of the Town Library at Trèves.

† Raynaldus, ad an. 1424, N. 13.

Martin V. to have been completely uninfluenced by the Humanistic tendencies of his day. After describing the virtues of St. Monica, her sweetness, her patience, her maternal solicitude, which found its reward in the holiness of such a son, he exclaims, "then, while we possess Augustine, what care we for the sagacity of Aristotle, the eloquence of Plato, the prudence of Varro, the dignified gravity of Socrates, the authority of Pythagoras, or the skill of Empedocles? We do not need these men; Augustine is enough for us. He explains to us the utterances of the prophets, the teaching of the Apostles, and the holy obscurity of Scripture. The excellences and the doctrine of all the Fathers of the Church and all wise men, are united in him. If we look for truth, for learning, and for piety, whom shall we find more learned, wiser, and holier than Augustine?" After this discourse, which may be considered as St. Monica's Bull of Canonization, Martin V. proceeded to place the precious remains in a sculptured sarcophagus of white marble. This had been provided, at great cost, by Maffeo Veggio, a pious Humanist, and two noble Roman ladies also gave three silver-gilt lamps, which were lighted before the sacred relic and kept burning night and day.*

We must not omit to mention that the Pope took great

* See Bougaud, *Hist. de Ste. Monique* (Paris, 1883), p. 500-506. For the Pope's Sermon, see *Bibl. pontif.*, 161, and *Fabricius-Mansi*, v., 35. This latter (p. 16-17), also notices Veggio's writings in honour of St. Monica; see Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, ii. (2nd ed.), 42. Many MSS. copies of these are to be found in Rome. I observed: (1) *Cod. Urbin., 59, f. 307-314b: *M. Vegii de vita et officio beatæ Monicæ liber*; f. 314b-331b: *M. Vegii de vita et obitu beatæ Monicæ ex verbis S. Augustini*. (2) *S. Monicæ translationis ordo per M. Vegium Eugenii papæ datarium descriptus*. Item de *S. Monicæ vita et eius officium proprium*. Cod S., 5-35, of the Angelica Library in Rome.

pains to promote Devotion to the most Holy Sacrament of the Altar. His Brief on this subject is a beautiful example of his piety.*

The great Jubilee, which he proclaimed for the year 1423, must also have done much to encourage religious feeling. Unfortunately but scanty notices of this important event have been handed down to us, and it has therefore been supposed that few pilgrims came to Rome to gain the proffered Indulgence. This, however, is a mistake. The Humanist Poggio, in one of his letters, complains that Rome was "inundated by Barbarians," that is to say, by non-Italians, who had thronged there for the Jubilee, and had "filled the whole City with dirt and confusion." The Chronicle of Viterbo also speaks of the great number of "Ultramontanes" who had hastened to Rome to gain the Jubilee Indulgence.†

The following year brought St. Bernardine of Siena, one of the greatest saints and preachers of his age, to Rome. This hero of unworldliness and self-sacrificing charity had devoted himself to the care of the sick during the great plague of 1400, when he was but twenty. He afterwards preached penance to the Roman populace, who had grown wild and lawless during the absence of the Popes. A pure and saintly life gave double power to his words, and the success of his preaching was immense. Bloody feuds which had lasted for years, were brought to an end, atonement was made for great crimes, and hardened sinners were converted. "On the 21st June, 1424," writes the Secretary of the Senate, Infessura, "a great funeral pile of playing-cards, lottery tickets, musical instruments, false hair, and other feminine adornments, was erected on the

* The text of this Bull is given by Raynaldus ad an. 1429, N. 20.

† Epist. Poggii, ed. Tonelli, i., 86. Niccola della Tuccia, 52. See Appendix, No. 17.

Capitol, and all these things were burned." A few days later a witch was also unhappily burned, and all Rome crowded to the sight.*

In 1427, St. Bernardine came again to Rome to clear himself of the charge of heresy, of which he had been accused to the Pope. The occasion was as follows: when the Saint entered a city, he had a banner carried before him on which the Holy Name of Jesus was painted, surrounded by rays. It was set up near the pulpit when he preached; sometimes also, when speaking of the Holy Name, he held in his hand a tablet, on which it was written in large letters visible to all. By his earnest persuasion many priests were induced to place the Name of Jesus over their altars, or to have it painted on the inner or outer walls of their Churches; and it was inscribed in colossal letters outside the Town Hall in many Italian Cities, as, for example, in Siena, where it is to be seen to this day. St. Bernardine's enemies had accused him to the Pope on account of this veneration paid to the Holy Name, misrepresenting the facts. As might have been expected, the investigation which Martin V. instituted, resulted in his triumphant justification; the Pope permitted him to preach and display his banner wherever he chose. Moreover, in order to manifest his innocence the more clearly in Rome, where he had been slandered,

* *Infessura*, 1123 (in *Eccard*, ii., p. 1874). The *Cronache Romane* (10) give a similar account of St. Bernardine's labours in Rome, assigning 1442 as the date. Probably this is a mistake for 1424, the year fixed by *Raynaldus*, ad an. 1424; N. 18, *Wadding*, x., 80, and *Gregorovius*, vii., 3rd ed., 9. The year 1421 in *Reumont* (iii., 1, 69) is evidently a misprint. Regarding the witch, see also *Armellini*, *Fr. Romana*, 2, and *Le Streghe in Roma*. *Storiella di S. Bernardino da Siena non mai fin qui stampata* (Imola, 1876). Roman sorcery in the fourteenth century is described in *Bertolotti's* article in the *Rivista europ.*, 1883, Agosto 16.

the Pope himself, with his assembled clergy, made a solemn procession in honour of the Name of Jesus amidst universal rejoicings.* He also commanded the Saint to preach in St. Peter's, and then in other Churches in the Eternal City. For eighty days St. Bernardine devoted himself to these Apostolic labours, which were crowned with the greatest success. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II., writes : " All Rome flocked to his discourses. He frequently had Cardinals, and sometimes even the Pope himself, amongst his audience, and all with one voice, bore witness to his marvellous power and success."†

* See Wadding, x., 113 *et seq.*; Bull., iv., 730-731; J. P. Toussaint, *Leben des hl. Bernardin von Siena*, quellenmässig dargestellt (Regensburg, 1873), 63 *et seq.*, 88, 97 *et seq.*, and Allies, 127 *et seq.* In some places, for example in Camajore, St. Bernardine promised the people that they should be defended from the plague as long as they honoured the Name of Jesus, and as a fact Camajore was untouched by the epidemic even during the terrible year of 1449; see *Cronache di Camaiore, copiate dall' originale, lib. 4, c. 3. MSS. S. Laurent. in Lucina, No. 57; now in the Victor Emanuel Library at Rome.

† See J. P. Toussaint, *loc. cit.*, 100. In 1427, Martin V. wished to make St. Bernardine Bishop of Siena (Pecci, 316), but the Saint steadfastly declined the honour. There are many editions of his numerous and valuable writings (see Jeiler in the *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, ii., 2nd ed., 442), but in regard to completeness and critical accuracy, they leave much to be desired. Recently, greater attention has happily been bestowed on these works in Italy. In 1853, Milanese published *Prediche volgari di S. B. d. S.* (Siena, 1853). L. Banchi's *Prediche volgari di S. B. dette nella Piazza del Campo, l'anno 1427* (Siena, 1880), Vol. i., is also well worthy of notice. Among other publications on the subject are (1) *Novellette, Esempi Morali e Apologhi di S. B. d. S.* (Bologna, 1868); (2) *Del modo di recitare degnamente l'ufficio divino. Lettera inedita di S. B. d. S.*, published by L. Maini (1872) (very rare; written on occasion of a Priest's first Mass); (3) *Novelle inedite di S. B. d. S.* (Livorno, 1877). Let me here observe that

St. Bernardine can only be regarded as a passing guest in Rome, but St. Frances of Rome belonged completely to the Eternal City.* Even before the days of Martin V., the charity of this noble Roman lady had been actively engaged in alleviating the miseries of her native City. The congregation which owes its origin to her zeal, and which still flourishes under the name of "Oblate di Tor de' Specchi," was founded in the year 1425, during the Pontificate of Martin V.

From her childhood, St. Frances had been in the habit of frequenting the old Church of Sta. Maria Nuova, at the Forum, which was served by the Benedictines of the Mount of Olives (Olivetans). In prosperity and adversity she had always kept up this pious custom, and was daily to be found there in company with other Roman ladies of rank, her friends and imitators. Here one day she proposed to her companions that they should adopt a common rule of

in the Chigi Library in Rome there is a precious coffer (Cod. C. vi., 163), lined with red velvet, containing an autograph MS. of forty-four of the Saint's sermons; these have already been published, but the MS. gives a number of variations, which are noted (by Kircher) on an accompanying sheet. The sermon which I have mentioned, p. 18 *supra*, as found in the Library of the Brera at Milan, is not published. I saw unpublished letters of the Saint's in the Library at Siena: note especially Cod. T. iii., 3.

* The life of St. Frances of Rome was written by her second Confessor, Giovanni Mattiotti, parish priest of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, and by Maria Maddalena of Anguillara, Superioress of the Oblates; see *Acta Sanct.*, ix., Martii, ii. The first-mentioned Italian work, which was probably intended for the private use of the early Oblates, was published by Armellini in 1882. Of later Biographies, I may mention those by Lady G. Fullerton (London, 1855). Ponzileoni (Torino, 1874), and J. Rabory (Paris, 1884). The last author has drawn his information from the Acts of the process of Canonization, and Ponzileoni takes the Archives of Tor de' Specchi as his authority.

life, such as could be observed by people living in the world, and thus share in the merits of the Olivetans. The ladies welcomed the idea, and the General of the Order soon consented that, under the name of "Oblates of St. Mary," they should be affiliated to the monastery of Sta. Maria Nuova, and participate in the prayers and merits of the Monks. The deep veneration entertained for St. Frances by all her companions, the works of mercy which they performed in common, and their regular visits to the Church of Sta. Maria Nuova, where they received Holy Communion on all feasts of Our Lady, at first constituted their only bond of union.

Such was the origin of the congregation of the Oblate di Tor de' Specchi, which was afterwards confirmed and solidly established by Eugenius IV. The name of Oblate has reference to the simple vow made by those who enter; the offering of themselves for works of piety; while the surname is derived from an extensive building at the foot of the hill of the Capitol, once the home of the Specchi family. St. Frances bought this house, and established the Community in it, and after the death of her husband, Lorenzo Ponziani, she humbly sought admission as an ordinary postulant into her own foundation. Notwithstanding her opposition, she was elected Superior. The Community lived in great poverty; the means which the first Oblates had brought with them were expended in the purchase of the house and the erection of a little chapel. St. Frances had indeed made over to the congregation two vineyards which she possessed outside the city, but the small return which they brought in bore little proportion to the needs of the Sisters, who went through the streets of the city and the hospitals like ministering angels, dispensing consolation and alms. Death overtook the Saint, not amidst her Oblates, but in her former palace

in the Trastevere, where she had gone to take care of her son in his serious illness. Here, surrounded by a multitude of devout persons, she died, on the 9th March, 1440, at the age of fifty-six, after a life spent in prayer, contemplation, and works of mercy. The mortal remains of the "poor woman of Trastevere," as St. Frances loved to be called, were laid in Sta. Maria Nuova. In 1608, when she was canonized by Paul V., the Church took the name of Sta. Francesca Romana. Anyone who has been in Rome on the 9th March, and has visited her tomb, round which eighteen bronze lamps are burning, or gone to the venerable Convent of Tor de' Specchi, and seen the chamber with pointed windows which she inhabited for four years, and which is now a chapel, will be able to bear witness that the memory of this noble Roman lady and model Christian matron,* is still deeply revered.

As soon as Martin V. felt that his position in Italy was more firmly established, he turned his attention to the restoration of Papal supremacy abroad. The abolition in France and England of the Anti-Papal legislation, consequent on the confusion of the time, was one of his special objects, and in France his efforts were crowned with success. In February, 1425, the young King Charles VII. published an Edict by which the rights of the Pope were completely restored.† Martin V. also zealously defended the liberties of the Church against the Governments of Portugal, Poland, and Scotland, and against the Republics of Venice and Florence.‡ His energetic resistance to any

* See Lady G. Fullerton, *loc. cit.* Reumont, iii., i., 68 *et seq.*, 484. For some notice of Roman memorials of St. Frances see also "Katholik," 1884, ii., 523 *et seq.*, 531 *et seq.* The dress of the Oblates is very simple, and is probably that worn by widows in the fifteenth century.

† See Creighton, ii., 24 *et seq.*

‡ See Raynaldus, ad an. 1427, N. 19; 1429, N. 15 etc. Zim-

interference with her rights was manifested when Charles of Bourbon, Count of Clermont, ventured to imprison Martin Gouge de Charpaigne, his Bishop. Almost as soon as the tidings reached the Pope he made the greatest efforts to procure the Prelate's liberation, and after a time* he was successful. His resistance to the Conciliar movement was equally resolute.

According to the decisions of the Synod of Constance, Councils were henceforth to be held at appointed periods. The extraordinary remedy which had hitherto been employed only in desperate crises or at rare intervals, and which could prove beneficial only under such circumstances, was to be brought into constant use. Instead of once in a century, or, at most, once in fifty years, it was now to be resorted to every five or ten!† The aim of this innovation was to substitute constitutional for monarchical government in the Church.

Martin V. was absolutely opposed to any attempt of the kind, and from his point of view he was no doubt perfectly right. Erroneous ideas regarding the constitution and position of a Council were at this time widely diffused, threatening the very foundations of the Papal power, and it was his duty to consider how they might be set right. The endless disputes as to whether the Pope or the Council was to have the first place in the Church, and the pretensions of the Synods of Pisa and Constance to dictate to the Pope, had not only filled him with distrust, but

mermann, 75 *et seq.* Bellesheim, i., 282 *et seq.* I found in Cod. i., 75 and 76, f. 86-87 of the Borghese Library, ** Briefs addressed by Martin to the clergy of Florence and to the Rulers of the Republic, dated Rome, 1427, Jan. 2 and 4.

* Gallia Christiana (Paris. 1720), ii., 291 *et seq.*, App. 98-99. See in Appendix, N. 18 * Charles of Bourbon's Letter taken from the above-named Codex in the Borghese Library.

† Höfler, Roman.-Welt, 157.

inspired a real horror of the very name of a Council.* He could not, however, venture openly to oppose the movement, and accordingly summoned a Council to meet in the year 1423 at Pavia. Circumstances were most unfavourable for such an assembly. England and France were engaged in a bloody conflict, Germany was laid waste by the Hussites, and war with the Moors was raging in Spain.† It was evident that the Council, which opened at Pavia in April, 1423, could not be numerously attended. In June it had to be transferred to Siena, on account of an outbreak of the plague, and here it soon became plain that its purpose in regard to the Pope was identical with that of the Council of Constance, and that those principles and ideas which had so seriously imperilled the monarchical character of the government of the Church and the authority of the Pope, and had occasioned the deposition of John XXIII., were again asserting themselves. Matters were made yet worse by the hostile attitude of King Alfonso of Aragon, who endeavoured to incite the Council against the Pope. Martin V. accordingly made the small attendance of Prelates and their divisions a pretext for suddenly dissolving it. On the 7th March, 1424, in the evening, his Legates secretly posted up a Decree, to the effect that by virtue of the Pope's authority it had been dissolved on the 26th of February, and that all Archbishops, Bishops, and others were strictly forbidden to attempt its continuance; and, having done this, they hastily

* "In immensum nomen concilii abhorrebat," writes Giovanni di Ragusa (*Mon. Concil.*, i., 66). The Duke of Milan (*Osio*, ii., 267) and *Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini* speak in similar terms; see *Hefele*, vii., 405. How, in the face of such witnesses, *l'Épinois* (404) can say that Martin V. wished for the Council is incomprehensible.

† *Zimmermann*, 70-71. *Creighton*, ii., 16.

left the city.* Before the publication of the Decree, Basle had been selected as the place of meeting for a fresh Synod, and the Pope had confirmed the choice.†

The Council of Basle was not to meet for seven years; a thorough reform of ecclesiastical affairs might in this interval have been undertaken, but Martin allowed the precious time to pass by almost in vain, as far as that important work was concerned. The reformatory Provisions of the Bull which he published‡ on the 16th May, 1425, were certainly admirable, but they were far from being sufficient, and we do not hear that they were really carried into effect. In the Pope's justification it must indeed be alleged, that the restoration of the States of the Church fully occupied him, and that this restoration was a matter of urgent importance. The events of the preceding century, the consequences of the sojourn of the Popes at Avignon, had proved beyond all doubt the necessity that the Holy See should possess temporal sovereignty, and be established on its own territory.§ Yet in Rome itself at least, Martin V. ought to have remedied the most crying abuses, and his negligence on this point can neither be excused nor denied.

* Mon. Concil., i., 56. See Raynaldus, ad an. 1424, N. 5, and Pecci, 310 *et seq.*

† It is not to be wondered at that Martin V. consented to the selection of a German city for the next Council, considering that he was threatened with a French one. The experience of the last ten years had shown the French to be much more Anti-Papal than the Germans. Hefele, vii., 406.

‡ This document, from which Contelorius (20-22) and after him Raynaldus, only give an extract, is printed in full in Döllinger's *Beiträge*, ii., 335-344.

§ That the territorial policy of Rome has become a necessity since the time of Martin V. is asserted even by Dr. M. Lenz (*Histor. Zeitschr. N. F.* xiv., 267), who certainly cannot be charged with any partiality for the Papacy.

The picture which confidential letters, especially the reports of Envoys of the Teutonic Order to their Superiors, the Grand Masters in Prussia, give of the state of things in Rome at this period, is a very gloomy one. In the year 1420, one of these Envoys wrote to Prussia: "Dear Grand Master, you must send money, for here at the Court all friendship ends with the last penny." In another letter, the writer says that it is impossible to describe all the devices used in Rome to get money; that gold is the only friend and the only means for getting any business done. In a report of the year 1430 we read: "Greed reigns supreme in the Roman Court, and day by day finds new devices and artifices for extorting money from Germany, under pretext of ecclesiastical fees. Hence much outcry, complaining, and heart-burnings among scholars and courtiers; also many questions in regard to the Papacy will arise, or else obedience will ultimately be entirely renounced, to escape from these outrageous exactions of the Italians; and the latter course would be, as I perceive, acceptable to many countries."*

It is possible that certain statements in these reports are to be rejected,† or considered as exaggerated, yet on the whole, the picture they present must be a true one, for Swiss, Poles, and even Italians of that day have all borne similar testimony.‡

* Voigt, *Stimmen*, 94 *et seq.*, 98-103; see 108 *et seq.*, 113 *et seq.*, 120 *et seq.*, 126 *et seq.*, 144 *et seq.*, 156, 170, 173.

† In regard to the noble Westphalian, Hermann Dwerg (Protonotary under Martin V.), we give an original document which shows the justice of this observation; see *infra*, pp. 243-244.

‡ See Reber, F. Hemmerlin, 72, 214 *et seq.*, 331. Caro, *Gesch. Polens*, iii., 524. *Gesch. Blätt. f. Magdeburg* (1883), xviii., 70. In the year 1429, Giacobino da Iseo wrote to the King of the Romans: "E como saviti, in corte de Roma, cum el denaro se obtene quello se vole intieramentê." Osio, ii., 418.

It has repeatedly been asserted that the Roman Court has assumed a more and more Italian character ever since the time of Martin V.* This, however, is quite a mistake, for at the very period in question the composition of the Papal Court was eminently international, and may be said to have in this respect reflected the image of the Universal Church. Spain, France, England, Germany, and Holland are all represented. Even during the Avignon exile the international character of the Papal Court had not been completely lost. In one of the volumes containing the registers of Gregory XI. we have a list, drawn up by his command, of the Court officials at Avignon at the time of the departure of the Court (September, 1376). The immense number of German names in this list is very remarkable.† We are also indebted to two Germans in the Papal service, Dietrich von Nieheim and Gobelinus Persona, for the best descriptions of the changeful times of the Schism.

The number of foreigners in Rome in the time of Martin V. was very large, and among them were a great many Germans, who held positions at the Papal Court and in various administrative and legal offices in the Chancery, Datary, Penitentiary, Apostolic Chamber and Rota.‡

* *e.g.*, Droysen, ii., 1, 152.

† *Regesta Gregorii xi. Annus, viii., pars unica, tom. 32 et ultimus, f. 429-506 : Liber cortesianorum et civium existentium in civitate Aven. post recessum Rom. Curie factus de mandato. Smi. N. D. Gregorii P. xi. Secret Archives of the Vatican. I have to thank my friend, Dr. A. Pieper, for pointing out this interesting notice to me. See also Denifle-Ehrle, *Archiv.*, i., 627-630.

‡ Bangen, *Die Römische Curie* (Münster 1855), and Phillips in the fifth volume of his *Kirchenrecht* treat at length of these Courts. Martin V. gave a more settled form to the Chancery and Datary. See also Reumont, iii., 1, 271 *et seq.*, 505 *et seq.*, and Ottenthal, *Bullenregister*, etc., 44 *et seq.*, 84 *et seq.*, 96 *et seq.* It was all the easier for foreigners in those days to obtain positions in the Papal

During the whole of the fifteenth century, foreigners—Netherlanders, Frenchmen, and afterwards Spaniards—formed the majority in the Papal Chapel.*

Some of the foreigners filled most influential positions; the important post of Master of the Sacred Palace (Counselor of the Pope in all theological and legal questions), for example, was, from the time of Martin V. to that of Calixtus III., held three times by a Spaniard, once by a German, Heinrich Kalteisen from the Rhenish provinces, and once by an Italian.†

Hermann Dwergh (in Latin, Nanus), like Nieheim and Persona, of Westphalian origin, was Protonotary in the time of Martin V., and much esteemed at his Court. He enjoyed the special favour and confidence of the Pope, and, as Envoy of the Teutonic Order, was freely admitted to his presence during his illness, when even a Cardinal rarely ventured to appear. At the time of his death, on the 14th December, 1430, Dwergh had the reputation of being one of the richest, most influential, and most highly respected men in the Eternal City.‡ But amidst all his riches he retained a Court, inasmuch as the proceedings were then carried on in Latin, a custom which continued until the year 1480; see Voigt, *Stimmen*, 154.

* See E. Schelle, *Die Päpstliche Sängerschule in Rom genannt die Sixtinische Kapelle* (Wien, 1872), 214, 258. Ambros, ii, 455. Müntz, *La Renaissance*, 471. Cf. the valuable work of F. X. Haberl, *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*. I. Wilhelm du Fay (Leipzig, 1885), especially p. 55. The erudite author gives a list of very interesting notices of the Papal Singers from 1389 to 1442.

† See Catalanus, *De Magistro s. palatii*, 83 *et seq.* With regard to the great importance of the position, see Phillips, v., 545.

‡ Voigt, *Stimmen*, 78. For a further account of Dwergh, see Evelt's Essay: *Gelehrte Westfalen am Päpstl. Hofe in der erstenhälfte des fünfzehnten Jahrh.* *Zeitschrift für Westphälische Geschichte*, third series, i., 284, 298, and the Articles in the *Histor. polit. Bl.* and in the *Pick'schen Monatschrift* cited *infra*, p. 244, note*

spirit of evangelical poverty and was a most devout priest. His will, which is still preserved in his native town of Herford, bears witness to his piety, his pure love of God and of the Church, and his generous unselfishness. It also shows that all the splendour of his position beyond the Alps never alienated his heart from his German home. Beginning with a prayer, he desired that his funeral should be simple, and that no monument should mark his resting-place; then he disposes of his property principally for the benefit of his native town and of the University of Cologne, in which he founds two scholarships, leaving a house in Herford and the sum of 10,000 florins to defray the expense. Another house which he possessed in Herford he appoints to be an asylum for the poor. He bequeaths 400 Rhenish dollars to each of the principal churches of his native town, as an endowment for a mass to be said in each, and "to that of Saints John and Denis, in which," he says, "the bodies of my parents repose, 200 more." Two hundred dollars are to be employed in the completion of the tower of this church. His books are left to the church at Pusinna. His truly Catholic will concludes with these words, "Whatever is left over of my goods and possessions, my executors are to distribute secretly amongst the poor, remembering the account they will have to render to God."*

* H. Dwerg aus Westfalen (Histor. polit. Bl.), 1850, xxv., 803-807. See Evelt, Rheinländer und Westfalen in Rom., 421 *et seq.*; Reber, 365, and Bianco, Die Universität und das Gymnasium zu Köln (Köln 1850), ii., 148 *et seq.* Dwerg also gave to the Church of Sta. Maria dell. Anima a vineyard, etc.; see Liber benef., 219. Conrad von Soest was honoured by the special confidence of Martin V., and summoned to Rome. See Zeitschr. für Westfäl. Gesch., third series, i., 257 and 287 *et seq.*, for some account of the Westphalian Johannes von Marsberg, who had great influence with Eugenius IV. Meinardus, in the Archives N.F. x., 40 *et seq.*, speaks of Albert Kock and Joh. Rode of Bremen, both of whom

The Germans were greatly favoured by Nicholas V. as well as by Martin V. Nicholas V. indeed deemed it impossible to do without them, and in 1451, when the plague had carried off almost all the German Abbreviators, he desired the Envoy of the Teutonic Order to bring before him the names of a number of his countrymen,* whose virtues and abilities might fit them to fill the vacant posts.

The number of German tradesmen, artizans, and craftsmen, settled in Rome in the fifteenth century, strikes us as even more surprising than that of the officials employed in the Court. In the nineteenth century thousands of Germans yearly leave their homes for America; at that period, Italy, with its great and wealthy cities and, above all, Rome, exercised a similar attraction. We find Germans occupying all manner of positions in Rome; they were merchants, innkeepers, money changers, weavers, gold and silver-smiths, book copiers and illuminators, blacksmiths, bakers, millers, shoemakers, tailors, saddlers, furriers, and barbers.† While German prelates occupied the highest positions at the Roman Court, German bankers and merchants, especially those from Bavaria and the Netherlands, became prominent in the commercial life of the city. The earliest printers in Rome were Germans.‡

filled distinguished positions in the Papal administration. Respecting Germans in Rome consult also Burckhardt, i., 3rd ed., 331., and Dacheux, Geiler de Kayserberg (Paris, 1876), p. 113.

* Voigt, Stimmen, 81.

† According to Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, in 1446 almost all the innkeepers in Rome were Germans. See Muratori, iii., 2, 880. Some idea of the number of inns may be formed from the fact that in the time of Eugenius IV., in the Borgo alone, there were sixty inns and taverns. Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 677.

‡ Kerschbaumer, 66. A. de Waal, Priestercollegium, 2. Anz. für Kunde Deutscher Vorzeit, xvi., 75 *et seq.* Evelt, Rheinländer und Westfalen in Rom., 417 *et seq.*, 425. A future volume of this

That the German colony during the fifteenth century was extremely numerous and important is evidenced by the fact that the shoemakers of that nation formed a special guild, whose statutes were confirmed by Eugenius IV. in 1439, and that even its journeymen bakers had a guild of their own. The Statute Book of the shoemakers, dating from the end of the fifteenth century, is still preserved. The ancient list of members up to the end of that century contains, according to Monsignor de Waal, one thousand one hundred and twenty names, to which, by the year 1531, one thousand two hundred and ninety more were added, so that within a century, more than two thousand four hundred shoemakers had entered the brotherhood. They had their special guildhall, with a chapel dedicated to Saints Crispin and Crispinianus, and to this day the stonework over the door bears the inscription "House of the true German Shoemakers."* There were many more German than Italian master bakers settled in Rome at the beginning of the sixteenth century. They formed a joint guild, presided over by two Consuls, one of whom was German, and the other Italian. The journeymen, or "Peckenknechte," had also their confraternity with its special chapel in the Church of the Anima, and a chaplain of its own. In the

work will speak of the German printers. Meanwhile, see Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 513 *et seq.*, and Janssen, i., 11. A German "architector," Wilhelm Queckels, is mentioned by Müntz (i., 31), who also gives a notice of a German painter who worked for Nicholas V. See Vol. ii., Book I., Chapter V., of the present work.

* A. de Waal, *Nationalstiftungen*, 13. The *Statute Book of the shoemakers, which is beautifully written on parchment, names "Hansoltz von heilpronnen, Marx von chommyn, Küntze mülfanke von der nüoven stad, Henrich grümholzeln von wilheym," as the founders, "anfengener" of the brotherhood. It is in the Archives of the Campo Santo al Vaticano.

year 1425 an agreement was drawn up between masters and journeymen, in regard to work and wages. At a later period they combined to found a "School," or guildhall, near the little Church of St. Elizabeth, where they henceforth assembled for the worship of God, and for consultation on matters affecting their common interests; they also erected a hospital there.*

The Germans who sojourned for a while in Rome were far more numerous than those who actually made their home there. An historian, who has the merit of being the first to investigate the subject thoroughly, says that "No nation has in all times kept up such an intercourse with Rome as the German; no other has in peace and in war exercised such influence on the fate of the city and of the Papacy; an influence sometimes evil, but more often salutary and happy; no other has enjoyed so large a share of the paternal care and affection of the successors of St. Peter."† Countless German pilgrims have left no trace behind them in Rome, but the authenticated number of those who visited the city of the seven hills in the fourteenth and fifteenth century is very considerable. In the Confraternity books of the Anima and of the Hospital of Sto. Spirito there are long lists of German names, some of them belonging to the highest ranks of society, and similarly, in the ancient Martyrology of St. Peter's, among the benefactors for whom anniversary services are to be held on appointed days, Germans are mentioned on almost every page, and also Bavarians and many Hungarians.‡

* A. de Waal, *Nationalstiftungen*, 13.

† A. de Waal, *Nationalstiftungen*, 1.

‡ A. de Waal, *Priestercollegium*, 2-3. Dudik, i., 79 *et seq.* Regarding the *Martyrologium benefactorum*, etc., see *supra*, p. 215, and Dudik, *loc. cit.*, 78 *et seq.* Monsignor de Waal, who has kindly allowed me access to his extracts, is about to bring out a history of

Considering the difficulties of the journey, the number of pilgrims who went to Rome in the fifteenth century is surprising. Many made the pilgrimage of their own free will, but in many cases it was imposed as a penance, or undertaken as such. Others, again, who had been at the Italian Universities and had there become acquainted with Romans of high position, afterwards followed them to the capital of Christendom. Then, if we also take into account Papal confirmations, nominations, dispensations, appeals, reserved cases, and absolutions, we may form some idea of the immense number of persons whom business attracted to Rome.* Flavio Biondo, the Humanist, estimates the ordinary number of pilgrims to Rome during Lent or Eastertide at forty to fifty thousand, and at the time of a Jubilee they were much more numerous.†

The immense intercourse of other nations with Rome was the origin of the many national foundations in the Eternal City for the reception and care of weary and sick pilgrims.‡ The Popes bestowed many privileges and favours upon all these institutions. In Rome, the common home of all Christians, everyone was to feel welcome, and to find among his own fellow countrymen provision for all his temporal and spiritual necessities.

the Campo Santo al Vaticano, which will throw great light on these subjects.

* Kerschbaumer, 3-4. See also Evelt, *Rheinländer*, 432.

† Blondus, *Rom. Inst.*, iii., at the end. Gregorovius (vii., 3, 3rd Ed., 618) hardly credits this number. According to Kerschbaumer's estimate (20), the Anima yearly received from three to five thousand pilgrims; the exact date unfortunately is not given. Regarding the Jubilees, see *supra*, p. 35, and Chapter III. of the First Book of Vol. ii.

‡ All the national foundations in Rome considered it their duty also to assist according to their abilities their poor fellow countrymen who were settled there. See de Waal, *Böhm. Pilgerhaus*, 55.

A survey of these various foundations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries shows the German nation again in the foremost place. The still flourishing Institutions of the Anima and the Campo Santo date from the fourteenth century.

The origin of the Pilgrim's Hostelry of Our Lady at the Campo Santo, near St. Peter's, is unfortunately wrapped in obscurity. Most probably it is the continuation of the ancient school of the Franks, which was founded by Charles the Great and Pope Leo III., on the southern side of St. Peter's, and whose church and buildings had gradually passed into the possession of its Chapter. Notwithstanding the change of ownership, which must have taken place during the Avignon period, the Canons of St. Peter's by no means denied the historical claim of the German nation to their ancient foundation, and made no difficulties when some Germans undertook the erection of a new hospice and church within the domain of the School of the Franks, but nearer the Basilica. They seem, indeed, to have made over to them the remains of some former buildings. The hospice was placed under the patronage of Our Lady. The end of the choir of its little church is still standing. More exact details regarding this hospice are not as yet forthcoming; the only information we possess is derived from a brief of Pope Calixtus III., in the year 1455, which says that Germans had founded it a long time before, in their solicitude for their fellow countrymen.* Its origin has been assigned to the beginning of the fourteenth century, and even to the Jubilee year of 1300, but this is uncertain. There is no doubt, however, regarding the founda-

* A. de Waal, *Nationalstiftungen*, 6. The latter development of the hospice of the Campo Santo will be spoken of under the reign of Nicholas V. The *Brief of Calixtus III., dated Rome, 1455, iv., Non. Sept. (= Sep. 2), A^o primo, is in the Archives of the Campo Santo al Vaticano.

tion of a second German hospital in the interior of the City, in the Jubilee year, 1350.* The Church of Sta Maria dell' Anima† is familiar to all German visitors to Rome. Johann Peters, of Dortrecht, and the celebrated Dietrich von Nieheim were its real founders. The former, whose long residence in Rome in the service of Pope Boniface IX. had given him every opportunity of knowing the needy and forlorn position of pilgrims, in the year 1386 made a vow that he would found a hospice for the Germans. To this object he devoted three houses which he possessed in the Rione Parione; the middle one was to be a chapel, and the other two for the separate lodging of men and women. The hospice owes its organization and the Papal approbation of the Brotherhood connected with it to Dietrich von Nieheim. He himself drew up its first statutes, and besides bestowing on it during his lifetime many gifts, left to it in his will seven houses, a vineyard, and other property.‡

* See *Liber benefact.* ii., 16.

† This foundation was placed under the Patronage of Our Lady, Advocate of the Poor Souls in Purgatory, and was called *B. Mariæ animarum*. Later on the title was shortened into "*de anima*" (*Italice dell' anima*), hence its common name of "*Anima*." Kerschbaumer, ii. The idea underlying the name is visibly expressed in the coat of arms adopted by the hospice in 1569. On the breast of the imperial eagle the Blessed Virgin sits between two naked figures, who represent the Souls in Purgatory and turn supplicatingly to her. The two-headed eagle, which spreads its wings about the Madonna, symbolizes the protection extended by the Emperor to the German National Hospice. A reproduction of the seal adorns the cover of Kerschbaumer's book.

‡ See Kerschbaumer, 7-8, 10 (*Bull of Boniface IX., dated 1399, Nov. 9*); Sauerland, 34 *et seq.*, 51, 58; *Liber benefact.*, 218, 263; de Waal, *Nationalstiftungen*, 8 *et seq.*, and H. Houben's treatise, which I shall presently cite. The will of Dietrich von Nieheim is published by Sauerland (70-72). When Kerschbaumer wrote his excellent work, the valuable records collected by A. Flix,

Pope Boniface IX. had granted an Indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines to all who should contribute to this benevolent work. The conditions were thus furnished for the erection of a Brotherhood, according to the common practice of the Middle Ages when a work of great general utility, especially if it had also a religious character, was to be accomplished. By the erection of the Confraternity which took place either at this time, or it may be previously, the supporters of the Anima entered into a bond of spiritual union, those who enjoyed the benefits of the hospice being bound to pray, or, if priests, to say Mass for its Founders and Benefactors. The Book of this Confraternity, a small folio of 291 pages, written on parchment, and bound in red leather, with a clasp, is still preserved in the Archives of the Anima. It begins in the year 1463 with names taken from older lists, and is continued until 1653. The number of members inscribed exceeds three thousand, more than a third part of whom were ecclesiastics, and about half belong to the fifteenth century.*

The German Hospice of the Anima enjoyed the peculiar favour of Popes Innocent VII. and Gregory XII.; they

in great measure from the Archives of the Anima, were not accessible; by the kindness of Dr. C. Jänig, the present Rector, I was permitted in 1876 to examine these papers, which are now preserved at the Anima, and I intend some day to publish some documents on the subject, which may serve to supplement the information given by Houben in his "Studie über Th. v. Nieheim" (Katholik, 1880, i., 57 *et seq.*).

* See Kerschbaumer, 59 *et seq.*; Dudik, Iter, i., 73-76; Evelt, Rheinländer, 415 *et seq.*, 427 *et seq.*, and Kellner in the Histor.-polit. Bl. lxxvii., 211 *et seq.* The Confraternity book was discovered in 1851, and printed in 1875 at the Propaganda, at the expense of the Anima. Liber confraternitatis B. Mariæ de Anima Teutonicorum de Urbe (Romæ, 1875).

confirmed its foundation, placed it under the protection of the Papal Vicar, and granted to it the parochial right of free burial and a special cemetery. On account of its increasing importance, its church was, during the reigns of Martin V. and Eugenius IV., enlarged by the addition of the two houses which had hitherto served for the male and female pilgrims, and thus two aisles were added to the nave. It is evident that by this time further space must have been acquired so as to allow of this extension of the church, without prejudice to the accommodation for pilgrims; its property continued to increase, for in the year 1484 it owned twenty-two houses.*

Other German foundations were also made in the fifteenth century. By a deed dated August 2nd, 1410, Nicolaus Herici, priest of the Diocese of Kulm and Chaplain of the Church of S. Lorenzo in Paneperna, gave two houses in the Rione Regola for the use of poor Germans. This hospice at first bore the name of St. Nicholas, and afterwards that of St. Andrew. In 1431 its administration was united with that of the Anima. In the middle of the century a Convent of German nuns of the Order of S. Francis was also founded in Rome, and rapidly became very flourishing. We must not close the list of German foundations without mention of the hospital near the Church of San. Giuliano de' Fiaminghi,† destined for the

* Kerschbaumer, 12 *et seq.* 22. Sauerland, 36 *et seq.* De Waal, Nationalstiftungen, 9. H. Houben, *loc. cit.*, 59 *et seq.* By a * Bull, dated 1444, Dec. 8, (there is a Copy in the Archives of the Anima) Eugenius IV. granted the right of administering the Holy Sacraments. In a future volume of this work we shall speak of the erection of the present church, and of the favour shown to the Institution by Julius II. and Leo. X.

† Further details are given by De Waal, Nationalstiftungen, 12, 14, and Beschreibung der Stadt Rom., iii., 3, 518 *et seq.*

benefit of Flemings and Walloons, and dating from the days of the Crusades.

The other nations of Christendom also possessed charitable institutions for their own pilgrims in the Eternal City. The little Church of St. Bridget, on the Piazza Farnese, preserves the memory of the House for Swedish Students and Pilgrims which the Saint established (†1373). The Bohemian Pilgrims' House, with St. Wenceslaus for its Patron, is about equally ancient, and it seems probable that Charles IV., when in Rome for his coronation, first conceived the idea of its foundation; an old tradition indeed says that the hospice originally occupied the very house where, disguised as a pilgrim, he spent the last days of the Holy Week in 1355.* The Document, however, which records its actual opening, bears date March, 1378, and informs us that in the year 1368, during his second sojourn in Rome, Charles IV. had bought a spacious house, not far from the Campo di Fiore,† and devoted it to the reception of all poor, needy, and sick pilgrims from Bohemia, Moravia, and Lower Silesia.‡ The Papal Confirmation was not given till the 1st August, 1379,§ the delay being probably due to the troubled state of the times, which, together with the disturbances in Bohemia,

* A. Belli, *Delle case abitate in Roma da parecchi uomini illustri* (Roma, 1850), 63. De Waal, *Böhm. Pilgerhaus*, 20. The Coronation of Charles IV. as Emperor took place on Easter Day in the year 1355. An original document concerning this hospice, dated 1439, is to be found in Frind, 461-462.

† Now Via de' Banchi Vecchi, 132.

‡ De Waal, *Böhm. Pilgerhaus*, 25 *et seq.*, 28 *et seq.* (p. 33, 1371 is a misprint for 1378).

§ De Waal, *loc. cit.*, 36 *et seq.*, 38 *et seq.* Martin V. confirmed the disposition of his predecessor; see Pangerl, *Zur Geschichte des Böhm. Hospitals in Rom.*, in the *Mittheilungen für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen* (1874), xii., 207.

brought about the ruin of this house. From an inscription which still exists, we learn that its restoration was undertaken by Heinrich Roraw in 1457.*

The celebrated Dietrich von Nieheim built a house for poor priests from Ireland, and a national hospice for English pilgrims was founded in 1398, in the Via de Sta. Maria di Monserrato. This was changed into a college† for the education of priests of that nation by Gregory XIII., as but few pilgrims came to Rome from England in his time. A noble Portuguese lady, Juana Guismar, who came to visit the holy places in Rome about the year 1417, established an institution for female pilgrims of her own nation. Twenty years later this hospice was enlarged by Cardinal Antonio Martinez de Chiaves, of Lisbon, and a church was built adjoining it under the title of St. Antonio de' Portoghesi. The restoration of the Hungarian Pilgrims' House from a state of complete ruin had already been undertaken in the time of Martin V.‡ In the Jubilee year of 1450, Alfonso Paradinas, Bishop of Rodrigo, erected a Spanish Hospital, which, with its Church, was dedicated to St. James the Apostle and St. Ildephonsus (San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli). In the neighbourhood of Chiesa Nuova was a hospital for pilgrims and sick persons from the Kingdom of Aragon, to which at this period Sicily belonged; it had been founded in 1330 by two pious ladies from Barcelona, § and was subsequently united with the Hospital of San

* A facsimile of this inscription, which has hitherto been given incorrectly (even by Reumont, ii., 1211), is to be found in de Waal, *loc cit.*, 71.

† Beschreibung von Rom., iii., 3, 428. Regarding the house built by Nieheim, see Sauerland, 51.

‡ Bull. Vatic., ii., 81. Müntz, i., 2 *et seq.*

§ See Beschreibung von Rom., iii., 3, 302 and 380. After the union of the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, the well-known Spanish Church of Sta. Maria di Monserrato (with the hospital) was built.

Giacomo. The little Church of San Pantaleone, near the Tiber, whose site is now occupied by the magnificent Church of St. John* (San Giovanni de' Fiorentini), was bestowed by the Chapter of San Celso on the Brotherhood of the "Pietà della nazione Fiorentina," a confraternity which had its origin during the terrible outbreak of the plague in 1448.

The generosity of Nicholas V. provided for the erection of a church and hospital for the Dalmatians and Illyrians in 1453; this foundation (San Girolamo degli Schiavoni) was enlarged in the time of Sixtus IV. and is still extant. At the prayer of Cardinal Alain, Calixtus III., in the year 1456, assigned a Church, Sant. Ivone de' Brettoni, to the Bretons, and a hospital for the sick and for pilgrims of that nation was afterwards built near it (1511). It may here be observed that a number of new foundations, similar to these which we have mentioned, came into being in the time of Sixtus IV. Churches, attached to national hospices, were, during his Pontificate, granted to the Lombards, Genoese, French, and others.† "There is," says one acquainted with the Eternal City, "something beautiful in these National Churches. Far from his fatherland, the wanderer, in meeting with so many familiar names, feels that he is at home. In San Giovanni de' Fiorentini we are entirely surrounded by Florentines, in San Carlo al Corso

* Reumont, iii., 1, 437. Beschreibung der Stadt Rom., iii., 3, 432 and 410.

† See Beschreibung der Stadt Rom., iii., 3, 267, 268, 269, 371. Reumont, iii., 1, 437 *et seq.* The deed of foundation of the Illyrian Hospital, dated 1453, is given by Theiner, Mon. Slav., i., 523. The Venetians had San Marco, which Cardinal Barbo built; the Lucchesi, Sta Croce e Bonaventura; the Genoese and Bergamaschi, San Bartolomeo. Hospitals were attached to almost all of these churches. Before the "Reformation" there was a Scottish hospice in Rome, not far from the Church of Sant. Andrea delle Fratte. Bellesheim, ii., 221.

by Lombards, in San Marco by Venetians, and in Santa Maria dell' Anima by Germans, and the subjects of the Low Countries. This peculiarity forms no small part of the charm of Rome."*

The Humanists who, during the time of the Schism, had made their way into the Papal Court, formed a distinct, and in many ways incongruous, element in a body composed of ecclesiastics.

Personally, Pope Martin V. kept completely aloof from the movement. In order to understand the position which the representatives of the literary Renaissance nevertheless attained at his Court, we must remember that the Council of Constance had given an immense impulse to Humanism. The world had never before beheld an assembly at once so numerous and intellectually so brilliant, and this latter fact gave it a weight far beyond that derived merely from numbers. The opportunities of intercourse between learned and cultivated men, afforded by these Councils, exercised an important influence on general civilization, and especially on the Renaissance in literature.† "The Council of Constance," as the Historian of Humanism observes, "inaugurates a new epoch in the history of the search throughout Europe for Manuscripts, while the impetus given to the interchange of thoughts between different nations by the two great Synods of Constance and Basle cannot be exaggerated. The dawn of Humanism, north of the Alps, dates from this period."‡

* *Neue Römische Briefe von einem Florentiner*, i., 128. At that period, and even later, Rome was not a merely Italian, but in some sense a cosmopolitan, City, in which all peoples met in the communion of the One Church, and preserved their national peculiarities under the protection of the Pope.

† See Leo, *Gesch. des Mittelalters* (Halle, 1830), ii., 706.

‡ Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i., 2nd ed., 236-237; ii., 2nd ed., 246.

Among the Papal Secretaries present at the Council of Constance were many Humanists. The most remarkable of them were the learned Greek, Manuel Chrysoloras, who, however, died (15 April, 1415) soon after his arrival; the well-known Lionardo Bruni, who also was but a short time at the Council, and Poggio. Among the non-official Humanists who came to Constance, we may mention the Poet Benedetto da Piglio, Agapito Cenci, and the jurists, Pier Paolo Vergerio and Bartolomeo da Montepulciano. With the assistance of the two latter, Poggio, much wearied by the endless theological discussions, began to search the libraries of Reichenau, Weingarten, St. Gall, and other monasteries in the neighbourhood, for manuscript copies of the Latin classics. It is to the honour of Germany that these precious memorials of antiquity were preserved in some of her cloisters.* The recommendations with which, as Papal Secretary, Poggio was furnished, enabled him to gain access to the most jealously-guarded collections, and to bring to light a number of classical masterpieces.† The delight occasioned among his fellow-countrymen by these discoveries cannot be described, and the self-esteem in which the Humanists had never been deficient, was notably increased. This was manifested on the occasion of the Enthronement of Martin V., when they claimed precedence for the Secretaries over the Consistorial Advocates, and were, it appears, successful.‡

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 506.

† See Voigt, *Wiederbel.*, i., 2nd ed., 237 *et seq.*, and Bursian, 91 *et seq.*

‡ Voigt, *loc. cit.*, ii., 2nd ed., 25. At the Council of Basle, where Humanism certainly played a more important part than it had done at Constance (see Bursian, 93), the Protonotaries wished to take precedence even of the Bishops! This was not accorded to them, but the question was not finally settled till the Congress at

Evidently this action of the Humanistic Secretaries displeased the Pope, and it may have been one of the reasons why he never, in any way, favoured them. He certainly saw that they were necessary to him, and employed many of them in his service, which Poggio entered in the year 1423. The critical state of affairs at the opening of Martin's Pontificate had induced this remarkable man to seek his fortunes in England. His hopes were sadly disappointed, and, turning his back on the "land of Barbarians," he again repaired to Rome. Within a short time after his arrival there, he was able to inform his friends that he had found little difficulty in obtaining the position of Papal Secretary.* It is hard to understand how Martin V., who was so exceedingly strict in regard to the moral conduct of his dependents, could admit a man of Poggio's character into his service. For the new Papal Secretary was what he had ever been. He himself tells us how, when the dull day's work at the Chancery was over, he and his friends amused themselves by telling disedifying stories. They called their meeting-place "the forge of lies," and we may form a fair estimate of Poggio from the fact that, at the age of fifty-eight, he published a selection of these anecdotes. The frivolous, absolutely heathen spirit of this partisan of the false Renaissance is but too plainly manifested in this work. With the exception of a few jests which are harmless, it is entirely made up of coarse innuendoes and scandalous and blasphemous stories. All ecclesiastical things and persons are turned into ridicule; priests, monks, abbots, hermits, bishops, and cardinals appear in motley procession, and Poggio has a tale to tell

Mantua. Further details on this matter will be given in a future volume of this work.

* Poggii Epist. ed., Tonelli, i., 87.

of each. Naturally, the monks come off worst. Jokes and ribaldry of this description formed the evening amusement of the men whose pens were employed in the composition of the Papal Bulls and Briefs.* When Valla produced his "Dialogue on Pleasure" in this circle, he knew his audience. These doings were carefully concealed from the Pope, whose name was by no means† respected in their conversations. The reproach, however, remains, that such men were his servants and were retained in his employment. The improvement in the Latinity of the Papal documents was too dearly purchased at the cost of such scandal.

At the time of the re-organization of the Court, and even before Poggio had entered his service, Martin V. had nominated Antonio Loschi, Secretary. The selection of this man, who was repeatedly sent on embassies, was disastrous, for he, too, belonged to the false Renaissance.‡

The versatility of the Humanists made their position at Court more and more secure. They were of use on every occasion; in the composition of Bulls and Briefs as well as in that of purely political documents, at the receptions of Princes and Ambassadors, and when appropriate discourses were required, either for festival or funeral. It was thought well to treat men who rendered such varied services with extreme consideration.§

* Voigt, *loc. cit.*, ii., 15; see 416 *et seq.* Regarding the Facetiæ, see also Landau, *Novellen*, 68, and Villari, i., 98 *et seq.*

† Poggius in *conclusionione Libri Facetiarum*. Opp. 491.

‡ See, besides, Schio's Monograph cited above, *supra*, p. 171, note*. Voigt, *loc. cit.*, ii., 2nd ed., 19, 21, and Ottenthal, 75.

§ See Schnaase, viii., 534, and Müntz, *La Renaissance*, 82. Voigt, *loc. cit.*, i., 2nd ed., 256 *et seq.*, tells us that Poggio obtained from the cloister of Hersfeld a newly-discovered MS. of Tacitus, by promising, in return, to bring to a happy conclusion an interminable lawsuit in which it was engaged at Rome.

By nominating a number of distinguished men to the Sacred College, and by effacing the last traces of the Schism, Martin V. conferred great benefits on Christendom. These two subjects demand a more detailed investigation.

The number of the Cardinals had greatly increased during the time of the Schism, for each one of the opposing Popes had formed a College of his own, and Popes and Anti-Popes alike had endeavoured to strengthen their positions by a liberal use of the hat. Urban VI., created sixty-three Cardinals, the Anti-Pope Clement VII., thirty-eight. The three successors of Urban VI. appointed thirty-three; Benedict XIII., twenty-three; Alexander V. and John XXIII., forty-four.* Of all these there were but twenty-eight living at the time of the election of Martin V. This number, however, was in the opinion of the majority of the assembly at Constance, excessive; and with the view of increasing the power of the Sacred College so as to counterbalance that of the Pope, the Synod decided that for the future it should consist of twenty-four members. This measure was a decided attack on Papal rights, and was all the less justified, inasmuch as naturally the Cardinals, who had survived the stormy period of the Schism while the holder of the Papacy had been changed, had, unlike the Pope, become more powerful than ever. The regulations of the Council regarding the qualifications of Cardinals and the representation of the different nations in the highest senate of Christendom, were, however, beneficial.†

Martin V., on whom devolved the difficult task of doing justice to the Cardinals of both obediences, and who also received into the Sacred College five former adherents of

* Phillips, vi., 223.

† Reformacte Martini V., art. 1; see Hübner 128; Hinschius i., 337.

Benedict XIII., was so moderate in making appointments that at the time of his death there were but nineteen Cardinals. Although fully resolved to do away with their undue ascendancy, he from the first proceeded in this matter, as in all others, with the greatest prudence. Almost six years elapsed before any creation took place (July 23rd, 1423), and the names of the two then chosen for the dignity, Domingo Ram and Domenico Capranica, were only made known in a secret Consistory to the Cardinals: the publication was reserved till a later period, and accordingly in the open Consistory no mention was made of the creation.* Three years later, on the 24th May, 1426, Martin V. for the second time created Cardinals. On this occasion the nomination of Ram and Capranica was confirmed, and Prospero Colonna and Giuliano Cesarini were created. The Consistorial decree concerning this secret nomination is extant,† and is signed by all the Cardinals; it expressly provides that in case the Pope should die before the publication of these four Cardinals, this is to be considered as equivalent to publication, and they are to be admitted to take part in the election of his successor. The Pope personally informed Capranica of his nomination, but strictly forbade him in any way to let his elevation be known. In order, however, to set him completely at ease on the subject, he admitted him to the ceremony of kissing the feet, followed by the customary embrace from the older Cardinals.‡ Of the ten new Cardinals actually published

* These two Cardinals were creati, sed non publicati. Phillips (vi., 273) and Hinschins (i., 341) are mistaken in considering this act of nomination as identical with the reservation in petto, for in the latter case the names of those selected were kept absolutely secret. See Moroni, ix., 303 *et seq.*, and the learned treatise of Catalanus (265 *et seq.*): *De cardinalibus creatis nec promulgatis*.

† Catalanus, 167-168.

‡ Catalanus, 12, 194.

on the 24th May, 1426, three were French (Jean de la Rochetaillée,* Louis Allemand, and Raymond Mairose, Bishop of Castres), and three Italian (Antonio Cassini, Ardicino della Porta, and Niccolo Albergati). The others were an Englishman (Henry Beaufort), a German (Johann von Bucca, Bishop of Olmütz), a Spaniard (Juan Cervantes), and a Greek (Hugo of Cyprus).†

Even before his creation of Cardinals in 1426, Martin V. had published admirable regulations for the reform of the Sacred College, which at that time was composed of Prelates who had belonged to three different obediences. In order that their light may again shine before the world, and that they may be fit for the management of the affairs of the Church, this Constitution exhorts the Cardinals to be distinguished above all other men by moral purity; to live simple, upright, holy lives, avoiding not only evil, but even the appearance of evil; to walk humbly, and not to be haughty in their bearing towards other Prelates or priests. They are to govern their households with due care, and to see that their retainers are chaste and honourable in their conduct. They are not to seek after Court favour, or the patronage of Princes, but, undistracted by

* This Prince of the Church was especially distinguished by his legal knowledge, and had great influence with Martin V. See Voigt., *Stimmen*, 122, and Reumont in Janitschek's *Repertor.* viii., 158.

† See Ciaconius, ii., 841 *et seq.*; Cardella, 37 *et seq.*; Eggs, 33 *et seq.*; Suppl., 172 *et seq.*; Frizon, 474 *et seq.* Regarding H. Beaufort, see Folkestone-Williams, *Lives of the English Cardinals* (London, 1868), ii., 70-110. The 23rd of June has been often given as the day of creation, but this date is wrong, for the one we have mentioned in the text, with the further fact that the publication was on the 25th and the assignment of the titles on the 27th of May, is to be found in the *Acta consistorialia in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

worldly interests, to consecrate themselves with their whole souls to the service of God.*

That such admonitions should be needed implied the existence of deplorable abuses in the highest Senate of the Church. How, indeed, could it have been otherwise? The Schism had disorganized the Sacred College, and produced a baneful spirit of independence. Martin V.'s projected restoration of the Papal power naturally involved a change in this state of things, but, if we are to rely on the account given by an Envoy of the Teutonic Order, it would seem that the Pope went too far in his endeavours to repress the autonomy of the Cardinals. In a letter written in 1429, this Envoy gives the following particulars regarding his audience of the Pope:—"When the Lord Bishop of Courland presented me to the Pope and to the Cardinals, they received me kindly and gave me good words; but little or nothing followed, for when the opponents of the Order came to them, they give them the same. Five Cardinals—de Ursinis, Arelatensis, de Comitibus, who was Protector of the Order and is now Legate at Bologna, Rhotomagensis, and Novariensis—are well inclined towards it and towards myself personally. But they dare not speak before the Pope, save what he likes to hear, for the Pope has so crushed all the Cardinals that they say nothing in his presence except as he desires, and they turn red and pale when they speak in his hearing."† This treatment was resented by the Cardinals, and its evil consequences became manifest immediately after the death of Martin V.

* See Döllinger, *Beiträge*, ii., 334 *et seq.*

† Voigt, *Stimmen*, 73-74, and Ænea Silvio, iii., 520, note 1. The names of these Cardinals were Orsini, Louis Allemand, Archbishop of Arles, Lucio Conti, Jean de la Rochetaillée, Archbishop of Rouen, Ardicino della Porta, Bishop of Novara.

Early in November, 1430, Martin's last création of Cardinals took place. A Spaniard (Juan Casanova) and a Frenchman (Guillame de Montfort) were nominated, and Ram, Prospero Colonna, Cesarini, and Capranica were published. The titular Churches of the last four were San. Giovanni e Paolo, San. Giorgio in Velabro, St. Angelo in Pescaria, and Sta. Maria in Via Lata.* As it was the custom to send the red hat only to Cardinals occupying important legations, Capranica, who was at this time Legate in Perugia, did not receive it. Authentic evidence regarding these proceedings is preserved; nevertheless, more recent historians have involved them in the greatest perplexity.† To this circumstance was due the difficulty experienced by Capranica in inducing Eugenius IV., after the death of Martin V., to recognize his position as Cardinal. This Pope, influenced by his enemies and falsely advised, denied him his dignity, and he was forced to repair in haste to the Council of Basle to assert his rights.‡

The action of Eugenius was unjust,§ and all the more

* Ciaconius, ii., 864 *et seq.* Frizon, 482 *et seq.*

† See Catalanus, 20 *et seq.* The authentic testimonies here adduced are—(a) Martinus V., “Dil. fil. Dominico S.M. in Via lata diacono cardin.” (jubet Capranicam esse administratorem ecclesiæ Firmanæ), 169-270. (b) Congratulatory letters from Cardinals Albergati, Colonna, and Cesarini, dated Rome, 1430, November 11th, 19th, and 31st, to Cardinal Capranica, 172-175. (c) Testimony of Cardinals Branda, Carillius, and Cesarini, 193-197.

‡ See Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 20-21, and the extremely rare monograph of Catalanus, 28 *et seq.* Voigt had not access to this, of which, as far as I know, there are but two copies in Rome.

§ The Constitution “In eminenti,” issued by Eugenius IV. in his dispute with Capranica, and deciding that the name and dignity of Cardinal are acquired when the Insignia are conferred, and that

unfortunate, inasmuch as notwithstanding his youth, Capranica was one in every respect worthy to be a member of the Sacred College. All his contemporaries are unanimous in their praise of this noble Roman, who combined deep piety with great learning.* In the course of this history we shall often have to refer to his valuable services. He died at the very moment when his elevation to the Papacy was a certainty. Had Martin V. created no Cardinal but Capranica, the highest praise would still be due to him, but all the others whom he raised to the purple were worthy of the dignity. "Martin V.," says a writer who is generally little ready to speak in favour of a Pope, "has the real merit of having placed in the Sacred College men whose virtue or culture soon won high esteem in the Church."†

Among the Cardinals appointed by Martin V., Giuliano Cesarini undoubtedly stands next to Capranica in regard to talent and capacity. Cesarini (born 1389, †1444), like many a great man, raised himself from poverty by his own industry. His biographer, Vespasiano da Bisticci, tells us that, when a student at Perugia, he lived on alms and collected candle-ends in order to be able to study by night.

one who has been nominated cannot, before the ceremony of the opening of his lips, take part in the election of a Pope, was revoked by Pius V., and justly, for it is in contradiction to the origin and principle of the Cardinalate. See Phillips, vi., 272 *et seq.*, and especially Catalanus, 31 *et seq.*, 304-319.

* See Vespasiano da Bisticci in Mai, i., 185 *et seq.*; Voigt, Stimmen, 89-90, and the *Oratio funebris prima die exequiarum domini card. Firmani, "edita per Nicolaum præsulem Ortanum," etc. (Cod. Vatic., 5815, Vatican Library), of which we shall afterwards have to speak.

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 22. Vespasiano da Bisticci wrote of Martin V.: "I cardinali, che fece nel suo pontificato, tutti furono uomini singolari." Mai, Spicil, i., 221. See also St. Antoninus, Chronic., xx., 2, c. 7 § 3.

After taking his Doctor's degree, he became Professor of Canon Law at Padua; Capranica, only his junior by two years, and Nicholas of Cusa were amongst his pupils. Cardinal Branda, in whose house he lived, brought him to Rome, where he soon won the favour of Martin V. The Pope proved his high esteem by entrusting to him two tasks of exceptional difficulty: that of inducing the German Princes to undertake a Crusade against the Hussites, and that of presiding as Legate at the Council of Basle. "In Cesarini," to quote the biographer of Pius II., "were united all the natural gifts and all the talents which mark the born ruler. Admiration was his, although he sought it not. A lasting impression was made on everyone who approached him, and there was an irresistible charm in his intellectual and beautiful features. He was grave and dignified in the presence of Princes, affable and genial with men of low degree. In social intercourse, the Cardinal seemed to give place to the man, and in the discharge of the high duties of his office, the man of the world, to the Prelate. His zeal for the Faith and for the Church, and his courteous manners, his deep and solid learning and his humanistic culture, his impassioned eloquence and the easy flow of his conversation, seemed each in turn to be a part of his nature."* Vespasiano da Bisticci cannot say enough in praise of his piety and purity of life. From him we learn that the Cardinal always slept in a hair shirt, fasted every Friday on bread and water, spent part of every night with his chaplain in the church, and every morning went to confession and said Mass.†

* Voigt, *Enea Silvio*, i., 50. See Abert, 89 *et seq.* Bezold (*Husitenkriege*, iii., 101 *et seq.*) counts Cesarini among the most illustrious ornaments of the later mediæval Church.

† Cesarini's chaplain was a German; see Mai, *Spicil*, i., 171-172. The German Secretary of another Cardinal is named in the *Liber benef.*, 227.

Cesarini's generosity was boundless; he gave all he had for the love of God, and no one went away from him unheard. The remembrance of his own early hardships made him take a special interest in poor and gifted youths. He sent them at his expense to study at Perugia, Bologna, or Siena, and provided in the most ample manner for all their needs. As Cesarini would not accept any benefice besides his Bishopric of Grosseto, the exercise of such liberality would have been impossible but for the simplicity of his own mode of life. More than one dish never appeared on his table; the wine which he drank was but coloured water. His care for his household was most touching. On one occasion when all its members at once were taken ill, he went to see them all every morning and evening, to make sure that no one wanted for anything. Even the stable-boy was daily honoured by the Cardinal's visit. He was full of the most ardent zeal for all the interests of the Church, especially for reform, for the conversion of Jews and heretics, and for the union of the Greeks. Cardinal Branda used to say that if the whole Church were to become corrupt, Cesarini by himself would be able to reform it. "I have known a great many holy men," says the worthy Vespasiano da Bisticci, "but among them none who was like Cardinal Cesarini; for five hundred years the Church has not seen such a man!"*

* Vespasiano da Bisticci, G. Cesarini, in Mai, *Spicil.* i., 171. In connection with this sketch, which is evidently the work of a loving hand, see the writers cited by Ciaconius (ii., 861 *et seq.*) and Eggs (83 *et seq.*), to whom may be added Joh. Nider; see Weiss, *Vor der Reform.*, 99. Regarding Cesarini's action at Basle, Reumont, iii., 1, 309, says: "Prudent and just men of later days have characterized his conduct in most critical moments, when he had to stand between Pope and Council, as independent and honourable. He had to guard against demands from both sides, whose dangers no one could better estimate, for he was well acquainted with Rome and Germany alike."

An essential feature in the description of Cesarini would be wanting if we omitted all mention of his relation to Humanism. Like Capranica,* he was a warm friend of classical studies. "To them," it has been said, "he owed those graces of mind and speech which so enhanced his physical advantages." Cicero, Lactantius, and St. Augustine were his models.† Cesarini was overwhelmed with business, and he was poor—even after he had been promoted to the purple. Vespasiano da Bisticci saw him sell duplicates from his library in order to give alms; consequently it was impossible for him to come forward as the generous patron of Humanism, but his interest in these studies was so great that even on his journeys as Legate he found time to search diligently for old manuscripts. This we learn from Cardinal Albergati, who shared his tastes.

Niccolò Albergati, though less cultivated than Cesarini, held constant intercourse with the partisans of the new studies, and did what he could to further them. Filelfo, Poggio, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, and especially Tommaso Parentucelli, enjoyed his favour.‡ Albergati, who had entered the austere Carthusian Order and afterwards become Bishop of his native city, Bologna, was a model of all priestly and episcopal virtues. When created a Cardinal, in his humility he assumed no armorial bearings, but simply a cross, an example which was followed by his old companion, Parentucelli, on his elevation to the Papacy.§ The high dignity to which Albergati had been promoted did not interfere with his observance of his Rule. He slept upon

* In reference to Capranica's Humanistic studies, see the *funeral discourse, cited *supra*, p. 265, note*, Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 15, Vatican Library.

† Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 216.

‡ See Ruggerius, xxxiv., and Nicholas V., chapter I of Vol. ii.

§ See Frediani, Niccolò V., 226, 287.

straw, never ate meat, wore a hair shirt, and rose at midnight to pray. "Entrusted with numerous and arduous Embassies, this Cardinal furnished an example of the combination of the greatest prudence in difficult matters of worldly policy with a perfect uprightness and integrity of character."*

Antonio Correr, Cardinal of Bologna, was also a man of great worth. To quote the words of Vespasiano da Bisticci, "Messer Antonio, of the House of Correr, a nobleman, and nephew of Pope Gregory XII., led a holy life, and, like Pope Eugenius, in his youth entered a religious Order in an island of Venice called San Giorgio in Alga. He was led to take this step by the boundless zeal for the Christian Faith and for his own salvation, which filled his soul. After he had spent many years in the Order, it came to pass that his uncle was elected Pope (1406) and determined to make him a Cardinal, although he would not leave his monastery for anything in the world. At last, being constrained by the Pope, he consented on one condition: this was that Messer Gabriel (Condulmaro), who afterwards became Pope Eugenius, should also receive the purple, and the Pope agreed that it should be so for his sake.† After both had

* Denina, *Staatsveränderungen von Italien* (translated by Volkmann [Leipzig, 1772], ii., 636). Albergati went as Ambassador three times to France (1422, 1431, and 1435), three times to Lombardy (1426, 1427, and 1430), and also three times to Basle (1432, 1434, and 1436); see *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, i., 2nd ed., 408. Voigt (*Enea Silvio*, i., 84) enumerates the older and more recent Biographies of Albergati; to which may be added: Fantuzzi, *Scritt. Bol.*, i., 99-133, and Const. Ruggerius, *Testimonia de b. Nic. Albergato* (Romæ, 1744); the last work is important on account of the documents from the secret Archives of the Vatican which it contains.

† Vespasiano's description is at variance with contemporary accounts; see Raynaldus, *ad an.* 1408, n. 9 *et seq.*; L. Bruni *epist.*, ii., 21; Niem, *Nem.*, vi., 33; Mansi, xxvii., 95, 96.

become Cardinals, Messer Antonio and all who belonged to his household lived most virtuously and were a pattern to others. The Cardinal held, as benefices, two abbeys, one in Padua and the other in Verona. In both of these he introduced the Observance of the rule and gave a part of the revenues to the monks, reserving to himself only what was needed for his support. He also provided that, after his death, both should belong to the religious, free from all charges. He lived in piety and holiness to the age of eighty, and when Pope Eugenius returned from Florence to Rome, resolved to leave the Court and retire to his Abbey at Padua. After he had dwelt there for some time, he undertook to set his affairs in order. Year by year he had kept an account of the sums which he drew from his benefices. One day he summoned to his dwelling the Procurators of the two monasteries and caused all his property to be gathered together in a great hall; he had an inventory taken of his plate, books, household furniture, and even of his clothes, and every separate article valued. After this had been done he sent for his account books, in which the revenues received from his benefices were entered, and, by his command, a list of the objects before him, with their valuation, was written at the opposite side of the page. He then told one of the Procurators that he might take the books and half of the silver plate and of the other objects, as he had arranged them. He addressed the like request to the other Procurator, with the words: 'Take and carry away what belongs to you.' In this manner, before leaving the apartment, he disposed of all his goods, and kept nothing but a chalice, a vestment, and four silver vessels. After all this was finished, he said to the Fathers of the two monasteries: 'I have had various goods delivered to you whose value amounts to so much; so much have I drawn from the benefices bestowed upon

me. If I had more, I would give it to you; have patience with me and pray to God for me.' The monks were above measure astonished at the Cardinal's action, and thanked him most warmly. But he rose from his seat and said: 'Thanks be to God for that which He has ordered.' Lords and Prelates may learn from this Cardinal that it is better for a man himself to do what is to be done than to entrust it to his heirs. He lived four months after this distribution of his property. He paid his servants their wages every month and gave them clothing twice a year. He would not be a burden to anyone, and left bequests to his servants and for pious purposes as his conscience suggested. He ended his days like a Saint. I learned all this from his nephew, Messer Gregorio, who was present at the division of his property and deserves all credit. Such Prelates of God's Church are worthy of everlasting remembrance."*

"It was of inestimable importance to the Church to have again men of such piety, learning, and activity, employed in the Supreme Council of the Pope—men who were convinced that they were bound by their own example to quash the accusations made against the clergy, and to meet the ever-increasing pressure of the new intellectual culture, by themselves taking part in the restoration of classical literature and of the sciences."†

Besides those of whom we have spoken, Humanism had other patrons in the Sacred College. Honourable mention is due to Branda Castiglione, Cardinal of Piacenza, a man

* Vespasiano da Bisticci, Card. Antonio de' Coreri, in Mai, *Spicil.*, i., 158-161. See Reumont, *Beiträge*, iv., 314 *et seq.* The collection of MSS., which he had made at considerable cost, was presented by Cardinal Correr to the monastery of S. Giorgio in Alga; see M. Foscarini, *Dei Veneziani raccoglitori di codici*, in the *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, v., 265.

† Reumont, *loc. cit.*, iv., 318.

noted for his simplicity, and to the nephew of Martin V., Cardinal Prospero Colonna. The latter possessed a library of some importance, and to him Poggio dedicated his table-talk regarding avarice, a sure sign that among men of letters he was not notorious for this vice.*

But the most zealous promoter of literature and art in the Rome of that day was the rich Cardinal Giordano Orsini. He had pictures of the Sibyls painted on the walls of his reception-room, with inscriptions containing their prophecies of Christ.† He spared no trouble or cost in forming a valuable collection of manuscripts of the Greek and Latin classics. Amongst other treasures which it included were the *Cosmography* of Ptolemy, acquired by the Cardinal in France, and a precious Codex, with twelve hitherto unknown Comedies of Plautus, purchased from Nicholas of Treves, a German dealer in manuscripts. The Cardinal himself endeavoured to restore the corrupt text of these Comedies, and intended to publish them, with some verses composed by Antonio Loschi. Poggio, who on this account was denied access to the manuscript, revenged himself by describing the Cardinal as a selfish hoarder of treasures which he could not appreciate. Time,

* Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, ii., 2nd ed., 29; see i., 2nd ed., 237, 261. In regard to Cardinal Branda, see also Keiblinger, i, 1120 *et seq.* Before the arrival of Martin V. in Rome, Branda had the Crucifixion and scenes from the life of St. Catherine painted by Masolino, the master of Masaccio, in a chapel at the left hand entrance of the nave of San Clemente; see Reumont in *d. Jahrb. f. Kunstwissensch.*, iii., and Woltmann-Wörmann, ii., 139 *et seq.* See also Müntz, *La Renaiss.*, i., 33. Regarding the libraries founded by Branda in Pavia (1489) and Castiglione, see Magenta, i., 346-347; and for Pavia, see also F. Denifle, *Universitäten*, i., 814.

† See *Epist. Poggii*, lib. xi., ep. 41, ed. Tonelli, iii., 118. The Cardinal's Palace stood in the *Via papale* at the corner of *Via di Monterone*. See Adinolfi, *Via papale*, 90 *et seq.*

however, proved that the judgment of the irritable philologist was unfounded. Before his death (1438), Cardinal Orsini devoted his literary treasures to the general good, by making them over to the library of St. Peter's. There were in all 254 Codices, most of them extremely valuable.* Considering the unwearied labour and the large amount of money expended in the formation of this collection, the high praise bestowed on the Cardinal by Lapo da Castiglionchio, in the dedication of his translation of a Biography of Plutarch, is not unfounded. "In the irreparable loss," he says, "which we have suffered by the destruction of so many works of antiquity, my only comfort is that Providence has bestowed you upon our age. You are the first for many centuries, who has endeavoured to revive the Latin tongue and in great measure succeeded. In your declining years, you have undertaken most costly and dangerous journeys to far distant places, in order to find the buried treasures of antiquity. You alone have rescued many great men of former days from oblivion, and have brought to light not only unknown works of known authors, but also works by writers whose names we had never yet heard or read. By your exertions such a multitude of useful writings have been brought together as are enough to give occupation to the learned men of more than one city."†

* See Reumont, iii., 1, 306-307. In reference to Cardinal Orsini's Library, see Pistolesi, *Il Vaticano*, ii., 185 *et seq.* Mignanti, *Istoria della Basilica Vatic.*, i., 104-105; Dudik, i., 82; and Cancellieri, *De secret.*, 906-914: *Inventarium librorum domini Jordani Card. Ursin.*, etc.

† Mehus, *Epist. Trav.*, 397. See Meiners, 300-301. Cardinal Orsini, who had already taken a prominent position in the Council of Constance (Aschbach, ii., 310), was sent to Germany by the Pope in 1426 to combat the Hussite heresy. On the 11th May he came to the Reichstag at Nuremberg; see *Deutsche Reichstags-*

The crowning point of Martin V.'s work of restoration was the removal of the last traces of the unhappy Schism, and his labours for this object were unwearied and widespread. The Spanish peninsula necessarily claimed his chief attention: Benedict XIII. had died at Peñíscola in the November of 1424, clinging to the very end to his usurped dignity. One of the last acts of this obstinate man had been the appointment of four new Cardinals; in 1425 three of these, probably instigated by King Alfonso, elected Ægidius Muñoz, a Canon of Barcelona, who called himself Clement VIII. To complete the Comedy of the Schism, Jean Carrer, a Frenchman and one of Benedict XIII.'s Cardinals, on his own independent authority, elected a new Pope, who took the name of Benedict XIV.* Both of these elections were ridiculous rather than dangerous, and Clement VIII. would, like Benedict XIV., have vanished from the page of history, leaving no trace behind, had not political circumstances given him an importance which by no means belonged to him as an individual. Alfonso V. of Aragon was a bitter enemy of Martin V., because the Pope did not support his pretensions to the Kingdom of Naples, but acknowledged his rival Louis of Anjou.† Clement VIII. was a useful tool in Alfonso's hands for the purpose of causing constant annoyance to the Pope. Reconciliation with this monarch was an indispensable preliminary to the extirpation of the Anti-Papal succession, but the prospect in this direction was at first very discouraging.

-acten (Gotha, 1883), viii., 482. His nomination and his departure from Rome took place respectively on the 17th February and 19th March; see * Acta consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

* See Cardinal Carrer's letter to the Count of Armagnac in Martène, Thes. nov., ii., 1714 *et seq.*

† See V. de la Fuente, 441, 470 *et seq.*

As early as January, 1425,* before the election of Clement VIII., Martin V. had entrusted Cardinal Pierre de Foix, a very skilful diplomatist, and a relation of Alfonso's, with an Embassy to Spain.† But the King of Aragon had assumed an attitude which at once rendered all negotiations impossible. He forbade his subjects to hold any intercourse with Rome, prohibited the publication of Papal Bulls, and let the Cardinal-Legate know that in the event of his presuming to enter his Kingdom, he would have his head cut off.‡ The Anti-Pope was, by the command of Alfonso, solemnly crowned.

The rupture with Rome was thus made definite. It was then expected that the Governments of France and England, who were much irritated against Martin V. regarding the question of the Council, would join the new Schism. The Pope and his court were in consternation.§ Happily this

* The Cardinal's appointment to this Embassy took place on the 8th January, 1425, and he left Rome on the 2nd March; see *Acta consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

† The principal sources of information regarding Cardinal de Foix's Embassy are his *Acta legationis cited by Raynaldus, (ad an. 1425 N. 1, ad an. 1427 N. 21, ad an. 1429 N. 2-6), Bzovius (ad an. 1426 N. 5, ad an. 1427 N. 13 *et seq.*, ad an. 1430 N. 1), and Contelorius (4, 24, 32 *et seq.*), without mention of the place where they are to be found. According to Wadding (x., 86), this important collection of Documents is preserved in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. I found, in the Borghese Library in Rome, Cod. i., 552, another copy brought from the Library of Paul V.: "Acta legationis Petri tit. S. Stephani in Coelimonte presbyt. Cardinalis de Fuxo nuncupati, qui per Martinum V. P. M. missus est ad Alphonsum Arag. regem pro estirpando Panischolen. schismate, A° Dⁿⁱ 1425.

‡ See the *Letter of the Florentines to Marcello Strozzi, dated 1426, July 4th, in which letters from Valencia of the 10th, 12th, 22nd, 25th, and 26th June are quoted. Cl. x., dist. 3, N. 4, f. 91b. State Archives at Florence.

§ "In Roma il Papa colla corte di tal novella è molto sbigot-

danger was averted, and Count Jean d'Armagnac alone took part in the revival of the deplorable Schism of Peñiscola.

On the 15th July, 1426, Martin V. summoned King Alfonso to Rome to answer for his support of the Anti-Pope and his other attacks on the liberty of the Church.* This measure did not fail to produce an effect. Alfonso perceived that many, even among his own subjects, disapproved of his schismatical position and dreaded excommunication and interdict. The wary King may also have seen that he could only be a loser by his isolation from the rest of Europe, and that, in the end, more was to be gained from Martin V. than from the powerless Clement VIII. He accordingly sent an Embassy to Rome and promised to admit the Legate into his kingdom. Cardinal de Foix hereupon undertook his second mission to Spain, and was received with all honour. His ability and wise moderation, seconded by the efforts of King Alfonso's Secretary, Alfonso (Alonso) de Borja, succeeded in the year 1427 in laying the foundations of an agreement between him and Martin V. The Cardinal then returned to Rome† to give an account of his proceedings, bringing the Pope letters from the King, in which he declared himself ready to render obedience and to forsake the Schism. The outbreak of the plague in Rome, in 1428, caused some delay in the negotiations, but early in the year 1429 Cardinal de Foix went a third time to Aragon and brought the whole affair to a happy conclusion. The King made complete submis-

tito, perchè vede che in processo potrebbe seguire la sua distructione," wrote Francesco Viviani to Lodovicho di Ser Viviano hon. podesta del ponte di Sacho on the 15th July, 1426. *Carte Strozzi*, 241, f. 46. State Archives at Florence.

* Raynaldus, ad an. 1426, N. 1-7.

† See Wadding, x., 132; see 138 for the Cardinal's third journey.

sion, and called on Clement VIII. to resign, which he readily did (26th July, 1429).^{*} The pseudo-Cardinals solemnly went into conclave at Peñíscola, and elected Martin V. Pope,[†] and so this attempt at a Schism ended as absurdly as it had begun. Count Jean d'Armagnac, whom Pope Martin V. had excommunicated in 1429, made his submission and was absolved in the following year.[‡] And thus Martin V. succeeded in completely restoring the unity of the Church after it had been for two and fifty years rent by Schism.

His Pontificate, although marked by this happy event, was in other respects by no means unclouded. The affairs of Bohemia, where the Hussite heresy had widely spread, caused him grave anxiety.[§] Before the dissolution of the

^{*} See Pagi, iv., 498, 502. Hefele, vii., 417-419. Alonso de Borja was rewarded for his services by the Bishopric of Valencia. Ægidius Muñoz became Bishop of Majorca (†1446, Dec. 28). See Villanueva, xxi., 61. V. de la Fuente, 442. For Carrer's fate see Martène, Thesaurus, ii., 1748 *et seq.*

[†] See Aguirre, *Collectio concilior. Hispaniæ* (Romæ, 1694), iii., 649 *et seq.* Villanueva, v., 365 *et seq.*

[‡] The sentence against the Count d'Armagnac is given in Raynaldus, ad an. 1429, N. 11. The citation of the Count in Cod. T., 7, 13 of the Angelica Library, which Erdmannsdörffer seems to suppose unpublished, is to be found in Baluze, *Miscell.*, ed. Mansi (Lucæ, 1762), iii., 419-423. The said Count was absolved (see v. Ottenthal) at the intercession of Count Amadeus of Savoy, "(præsertim dil. filii nobilis viri Amadei ducis Sabaudie pro ipso comite intercedente)". See Martin's **Bull* "Quoniam illius," dated Romæ, 1430, Apr. 7. The original is in the State Archives at Turin. Mazzo, 10, No. 16.

[§] The apostasy of Conrad, Archbishop of Prague, had taken place in 1421, and was the most grievous wound ever inflicted on the Catholic Church in Bohemia. Palacky, iii., 2, 218. Conrad was suspended on the 13th August, 1421—see **Acta consist.* in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican—but was not solemnly excommunicated and deposed until 1426.

Council of Constance he called alike upon the dignitaries of the Church and upon the Secular Authorities to enforce the legal penalties against this heresy. On the 1st March, 1420, he published a Bull in Florence, calling all Christendom to arms for the "extirpation of the Wyckliffites, Hussites, and other heretics."* Martin V. held to his purpose of overcoming the Bohemians by force with all the tenacity and persistency of his nature, and would not hear of negotiations with these heretics, who constituted a danger not only to the Church, but to the very foundations of civil society.†

The complete failure of the Crusade against the Hussites, and its result in stimulating the demand for the Council which was so greatly dreaded by the Pope is a matter of history.‡ The pressure began towards the end of the year 1425,§ when Ambassadors from the King of England ap-

* Palacky, iii., 1, 405; 2, 90. *Urkundl., Beiträge*, i., 17-20. The historian of Bohemia remarks in reference to the above passage: "The ever-prudent Court of Rome no doubt wished by this reserve to prevent the religious question becoming also a national one; but the effort was in vain."

† The thoroughly revolutionary tendency of the Hussite movement was most plainly recognized in Rome (see *supra*, p. 163). According to v. Bezold (p. 53 *et seq.*), "the idea of a general flood of revolution, imperilling the monarchical principle, goes far beyond the usual limited meaning of 'heresy,' and shows us that the Hussite movement was already considered as no merely ecclesiastical or national matter, but as one world-wide in its aim, and as affecting society and the state no less directly than it affected the Church."

‡ Besides Palacky, see in regard to the war with the Hussites, C. Grünhagen, *Die Hussitenkämpfe der Schlesier 1420-1435* (Breslau, 1872); v. Bezold, *König Sigismund und die Reichskriege gegen die Husiten*, in three parts (München, 1872-1877), and Huber, *Gesch. Oesterreichs*, ii., 445 *et seq.*

§ The exact date (27th November, 1425) is learned from Brown, *Fascicul*, i., 17. Giovanni di Ragusa (*Mon. concil.* i., 65) says in

peared before Martin V., praying and requiring that, within a year at furthest, he would open the Council at Basle, undertake the reform of the Church, and appear in person with all his Cardinals. At this audience, an English Prelate said bluntly to the Pope : If the abuses of the Church are not removed by Your Holiness, the necessary reforms will be taken in hand by the secular powers.* On the 17th December, the Pope answered the Ambassadors in a Consistory, defended the course of action which he had hitherto pursued, and declared that it was not now opportune to shorten the period decided upon at Siena.† In July, 1426, it was reported that an Embassy from the French King had gone to Rome to demand the holding of the Council.‡ Subsequently the Dominican, Giovanni di Ragusa, came to Rome for the same object.§

In face of this pressure, which was not always sincere, Martin V.'s attitude was one of the greatest reserve. Long consultations were daily held by the Cardinals in the latter part of the year 1429, but he uttered not a word on the subject.|| The party which looked on the Council as the universal remedy for all evils became more and more uneasy. The Council became almost a mania, especially

more general terms, "Post dictam vero Senensis concilii dissolutionem non completo biennio."

* *Propositio M. Willielmi Sulbury Abbatis Belli-loci ad P. Martinum V. pro. acceleratione futuri concilii*, in Brown, i., 19-21.

† *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi*, ii., 515.

‡ *Letter of the Florentines to Marcello Strozzi, Ambassador in Venice, dated 1426, July 4th, Cl. x., dist. 3, N. 4, f. 92, State Archives at Florence.

§ *Mon. concil.*, i., 65.

|| See the *Despatches of Francesco de Cattavensis to Giovanni Francesco de Gonzaga, dat. Rome, 1429, Dec. 15th. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

among the learned men of the universities.* With many of them, indeed, the object was, not the return of the Bohemians to the Faith or the reform of the Church, but a transformation of her constitution to the prejudice of the Papacy, and this it was that alarmed Martin V.

The most unscrupulous measures were employed by this party. On the morning of the 8th of November, 1430, placards were posted up on the Papal Palace and on many other public places in Rome, asserting the necessity of the Council, and threatening the Pope, that if he did not shortly summon it, obedience would be withdrawn and he would be deposed.† The sensation caused was immense; no one knew who were the authors of the placards, although mention was made in them of two princes, by whose desire they were put up.‡ According to Giovanni di Ragusa, from this time forth the friends of the Council in Rome became more confident, and urged the matter on the Pope himself. On the 1st January, 1431, he appointed Cardinal Cesarini Legate of the Apostolic See for the forthcoming crusade against the Hussites.§ A month later he also decided that this Cardinal, who was on the side of reform, should preside over the Council at Basle, from the moment of its meeting, and should undertake its guidance. Two Bulls were prepared for Cesarini, the first of which authorized him to open the Council and preside over it; and the second, in case of necessity, to dissolve it or transfer it to

* Hergenröther, ii., 1, 93.

† Mon. concil., i., 65-66.

‡ In Rome suspicion fell on Prince Frederick of Brandenburg and his son-in-law Prince Louis of Brieg; other people, certainly unfairly, suspected Albert of Austria. Bezold (111, 85) does not decide the question as to the origin of the placards, but considers the deed of the 8th November to be in perfect accordance with the character and the bold and secret policy of Frederick.

§ Theiner, Mon. Hung., i., 206 *et seq.*

another city. The latter Bull, which has come down to us through Giovanni di Ragusa,* clearly indicates the attitude which Martin V. intended to assume towards the Council. He justly apprehended further encroachments on the Papal authority, which had already been seriously impaired by the Schism, but before the necessity for extreme measures had arisen, he died of apoplexy on the 29th February, 1431.†

Martin V., "the second founder of the Papal Monarchy, and the Restorer of Rome," was buried in the Lateran, where his monument, erected in the time of Eugenius IV., is still to be seen, with his effigy in bronze and an inscription from the pen of the Humanist, Antonio Loschi, who describes him as "the happiness of his age" (*temporum suorum felicitas*).‡

This praise is not unmerited, for whatever Martin may have had to answer for in the way of inordinate love for his relations and of evasion of the demands for reform, it is certain that during the period of his Pontificate, Rome and the States of the Church enjoyed an amount of prosperity which had not been their lot for more than a century before his accession, and which contrasted favourably with their condition in the troubled reign of his successor.§ This Colonna, who was highly endowed with a peculiar capacity for ruling, a keen understanding, political sagacity and determination, has the unquestioned merit of inaugurating the restoration of the spiritual and temporal power of the

* Mon. Concil., i., 67. See Abert, 80.

† See *Cardinal Antonio Correr's letter to the Florentines, written on the day of the Pope's death. Appendix, N. 19, from Cod. E., vi., 187 of the Chigi Library in Rome.

‡ Rasponus, 77. See Papebroch, 440; Reumont, iii., 1, 484-485, and Müntz, *La Renaiss*, i., 15. Palatius, 483; Ciaconius, ii., 828; Tosi, *tav.*, 66; Liitta, *f.* 55, and Rohault de Fleury, *Le Latran au moyen-âge* (Par., 1877), pl. 18.

§ Such is also the opinion of Reumont, *Beiträge*, iv., 328; v., 56.

Papacy after years of confusion; of giving back to the Eternal City her ancient splendour, and to the States of the Church their importance, and of procuring for them a golden age of peace. This is undoubted, even though we may agree with Cardinal Ægidius of Viterbo, in lamenting that from henceforth virtue was too often sacrificed to the acquisition of power and wealth.*

II.—EUGENIUS IV., 1431-1447.

The failings of Martin V. entailed much suffering on his successor, the virtuous and austere Eugenius IV. A reaction against the mode of government of the departed Pope, whose rigour towards his Cardinals and whose favour towards his kindred had been alike excessive, began in the Conclave. The Cardinals sought once for all to protect themselves from the possibility of treatment such as they had experienced, by drawing up a kind of Capitulation, in which rules for the conduct of the future Pope were laid down. It was not the first time that such an attempt had been made, for a document is still preserved in which the Cardinals assembled in Conclave in 1352 imposed conditions on the Pope about to be elected.† After making a

* See the opinion of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Comment. de reb. Basil. gest.), in Fea, Pius, ii., 38, and Billii Hist. rer. Mediol., in Muratori, xix., 141-142. The passage from the **"Historia viginti sæculorum"* of Ægidius of Viterbo is as follows:—*"Atque hic quidem schismatum et calamitatum finis idemque concordie et glorie initium fuit, quæ res etsi externis opibus ornamentisque ecclesiam auxit, internis minuit ac prope exspoliavit; auctis enim gazis ac potentia honesti virtutisque interiiit auctoritas, luxus sumptusque adaucti sunt, omnium vitiorum genera excrevere,"* etc. Cod. C. 8, 19 of the Angelica Library in Rome.

† Raynaldus, ad an. 1352, N. 25-27. Hinschius' (i., 270) remark, that the Capitulation of 1352 is the first of its kind, must be set aside, if the statements made in a document of the sixteenth

certain provision for the maintenance of his dignity, they assigned to themselves all emoluments, and to him all charges.* Innocent VI., the able Pontiff who came forth from this Conclave, and who had himself, as Cardinal, subscribed the Capitulation, annulled it as uncanonical, because the Cardinals in Conclave had gone beyond their powers in drawing it up, and as rash, because it ventured to limit by human statutes and definitions that plenitude of power which God Himself had committed to the Holy See, independently of all foreign will or consent.† The attempts of the College of Cardinals to provide themselves with a kind of Golden Bull were thus frustrated, three years before Charles IV. bestowed one on the German Electors.‡

century, recently published by Döllinger (Beiträge, iii., 343), be confirmed. It gives a short retrospect of the history of Election-Capitulations, and asserts that the custom dates from the Conclave in which Boniface VIII. was chosen, and had been handed on since from Conclave to Conclave. In any case Voigt (Enea Silvio, iii., 520) is incorrect in assigning the origin of the limitation of the papal monarch by Election-Capitulations to the Epoch of the Councils.

* J. Görres, in the *Histor-polit. Bl.*, xvi., 331.

† Bullarium, iv., 506-508. Görres, *loc. cit.* Canonists hold that the observance of such Capitulations, which have been only forbidden since the time of Innocent XII., Const. "Romanum decet" (1692), must necessarily rest with the conscience of the Pope. See Hergenröther, iii., 348. See also the interesting *Treatise of Clemens Tosius, addressed to Alexander VII. *Cod. J.*, ii., 31, f. 425 *et seq.* of the Chigi Library in Rome.

‡ Höfler, *Zur Kritik und Quellenkunde der ersten Regierungsjahre Karls, v.* (Wien, 1878), part 2, 58, where a special section treats of the Capitulations of the Popes. It is strange that the Capitulation of 1431 is not here mentioned. Regarding the Election-Capitulations at the time of the Schism, see Bauer in the *Laacher Stimmen* (1871), i., 480 *et seq.* Hübler (69) and Tschackert (258) treat of the project, originated at the Council of Constance, of binding the Pope by a formal compact of an absolutely legal character.

The Capitulation of 1431 went, in some respects, even further than that which had been framed before the election of Innocent VI. The Pope, according to its terms, was to reform the Roman Court "in its Head and its members," and not to transfer it to another place without the consent of the majority of the Sacred College; he was to hold a General Council, and by its means to reform the whole Church; in the appointment of Cardinals, he was to observe the prescriptions laid down at Constance; he was not to proceed against the person or property of any one of the Cardinals without the consent of the majority of the body, nor to diminish their power of testamentary disposition. Moreover, all vassals and officials of the States of the Church were to swear fealty to the Sacred College, which was to possess the half of all the revenues of the Roman Church, and the Pope was not to undertake any important measure in regard to the States of the Church without its assent.*

These articles, which Eugenius IV. immediately published in a Bull, gave a new government to the States of the Church and materially limited the temporal power of the Pope. But the altered state of things was of short duration.†

According to the description given by Vespasiano da

* Raynaldus, ad an. 1431, N. 5-7.

† Döllinger, Kirche und Kirchen, 519. In regard to that condition of the Capitulation, by which the Pope gave the Cardinals possession of half of the income of the Roman Church, Aschbach (iv., 15) most justly observes that it rendered the reformation of the Holy See increasingly difficult; and yet these very Cardinals made Eugenius swear that he would follow the course on which Martin V. had entered in the Convocation of the Council of Basle, and would proceed with the work of Church reform, while, at the same time, they required that he should make no concession which could be prejudicial to the Papal dignity or to the Roman Court.

Bisticci, Pope Eugenius was tall, of a handsome and imposing presence, thin, grave, and dignified in his bearing. He made such an impression on those around him, that they hardly ventured to look at him. During his sojourn at Florence he seldom went out, but when he appeared in public, his aspect inspired such reverence that most of those who beheld him shed tears. "I remember," continues this writer, "that once, at Florence, during the time of his exile, Pope Eugenius stood on a tribune erected near the entrance to the monastery of Sta. Maria Novella, while the people, who filled the Piazza and the neighbouring streets, gazed on him in silence. When the Pope began the '*Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini*,' nothing was heard but loud sobbing, so overwhelming was the impression made by the majesty and the piety of the Vicar of Christ, who, in truth, seemed to be He whom he represented."

Vespasiano further informs us that Eugenius' manner of life was most simple; he drank no wine, but only water with sugar and a little cinnamon. His repast consisted of one dish of meat, with vegetables and fruit, both of which he liked; he had no fixed hour for meals, so his servants always kept something ready for him. He willingly granted audiences when his business was done; was very generous, and gave alms most bountifully; accordingly, he was always in debt, for he did not value money and kept nothing for himself. One day a poor Florentine citizen, Felice Brancacci, appealed to the Pope for assistance. Eugenius sent for a purse filled with florins and bid him take as many as he liked. As the man timidly took but a few, the Pope laughed and said: "Take plenty; I give you the money gladly." He parted with money as soon as he received it.

Four monks and a secular priest, all of them excellent

men, were constantly with the Pope. Two of the monks were Benedictines, and two belonged to his own Order, that of the Augustinian Hermits. He recited the Divine Office with them daily, rising regularly for matins. When he awoke from his sleep, he had one of the books which lay near his bed given to him, and read for an hour or two, sitting up, with the book lying on a cushion before him between two candles. The sanctity of his life won universal veneration. Some of his relations came to him, but they received no part of the temporal goods of the Church, for he held that he could not give away that which did not belong to him.*

Nevertheless, the Pontificate of Eugenius IV. was not a happy one. His hasty and over-violent measures against the relations of his predecessor at once involved him in a serious contest with the powerful house of Colonna, during which a conspiracy to surprise the Castle of St. Angelo by

* Vespasiano da Bisticci (identical with the anonymous author cited by Raynaldus, ad an. 1447, N. 13), Eugenius IV., in Mai, *Spicil.*, i., 18-21. The generosity of the Pope is mentioned by Müntz, i., 54 *et seq.* 1383 is given as the date of Gabriel Condulmaro's birth; (Condulmaro, not Condelmieri or Condelfero, was his patronymic; see Cicogna, *Iscriz. Venez.*, iv., 259). He belonged to a noble Venetian family, but early resolved to renounce the riches of this world and devote his life entirely to God and to the Church. After the death of his father, he entered the Augustinian Monastery of S. Giorgio in Alga, near Venice, a religious house, whose name holds an honourable place in the history of that city for the valuable work done by its inmates during the later years of the Schism (Reumont iii., 1, 73). His maternal uncle, Pope Gregory XII., conferred on him many ecclesiastical dignities, the Bishopric of Siena, and finally the purple (1408). See Abert, *Eugen IV.*, 20-66. The election of Eugenius took place in the monastery of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva; see Cancellieri, *Notiz.*, 14.

a nocturnal attack was discovered and suppressed in Rome.*

Almost as soon as this sanguinary struggle had been concluded and the pride of the Colonnas humbled, fresh disturbances of a far more dangerous character broke out.

The attendance at the Council which had been opened at Basle on the 23rd of July, 1431, was very scanty, and on the 18th of December in the same year, Eugenius IV. issued a Bull dissolving it, and transferring it to Bologna, where it was again to meet after the lapse of a year and a half. Incorrect information and fear of the growing power of Councils induced the Pope to take this momentous step, which was a grievous mistake, prematurely revealing his extreme distrust of the Council, before any act or decision of that body had occurred to justify it.† Those who were

* For a further account of this dangerous conspiracy, see Vita Eugenii, in Muratori, iii., 2, 869. Infessura, 1124. Blondus, Dec. iii., lib. iv., 458 *et seq.* Platina, 672. Two **Despatches of Francesco de' Cattabeni and Matteo de' Conradi, dated respectively Rieti, 1431, July 7, and Urbino, 1431, July 12 (both in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua), are also interesting. I shall give them later on, in connection with a *Discourse by Bartolomeo Zabarella, of which I have obtained a copy through the kindness of Father H. Schmid. The Discourse (**Sermo contra fratrem Thomam priorem, qui fuit degradatus Rome et suspensus ad furcas et tandem divisus in iv. partes, factus per Barth. de Zabarellis, Archiepiscop. Spalatan. qui sentenciavit et degradavit eundem.) is in Cod. 4 (saec. xv.), f. 184ab of the Library of Kremsmünster.

† Ashbach, iv., 29. Even John of Palomar, although attached to the Papal cause, in his Quæstio cui parendum est an S.D.N.P. Eugenio IV. an concilio Basil. tamquam superiori (Döllinger, Beiträge, ii., 420), admits that the Bull dissolving the Council proceeded "ex falsis informationibus," and that the dissolution tended "in perniciem ecclesiæ," and that accordingly opposition might be offered to the Bull until the Pope, being better informed, withdrew it; but he adds: "Sed ex causa rationabili et manifesta potest concilium a Papa dissolvi nec aliqua lege contrarium statui posset."

assembled at Basle evaded the public reading of the Bull of Dissolution on the 13th of January by absenting themselves from the place of meeting, and, on the 21st of the month, published an Encyclical Letter, addressed to all the faithful, announcing their determination "to continue in the Council, and, with the assistance of the Holy Spirit, to labour at the task committed to it."* The secular powers at once came forward and promised the little Assembly their aid and protection, the menaces of Eugenius were unheeded, and the partisans of the Synod became more numerous. At this epoch the idea of a General Council exercised a strange fascination on men's minds. It was looked upon as the cure for all the ills of the Church. If the disastrous Schism had been happily healed by this means, would it not be equally efficacious in the matter of reform?†

The great victory gained by the Hussites at Taus, in which the cross of the Legate Cesarini and the Papal Bull proclaiming the Crusade fell into the hands of the heretics, had the effect of giving fresh weight and power to the Council. The humiliating defeat of the Crusading army produced a general and most painful impression, and contributed more than anything had yet done to strengthen and extend a conviction of the futility of the line of action hitherto pursued against the Bohemians, and of the necessity, not merely of ecclesiastical reform, but of amicable negotiation with the Hussites.‡ These two measures seemed practicable only by means of the Council, and therefore the gifted Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini urged the Pope to recall the Bull which dissolved it§—unfortunately his efforts were

* Mansi, xxix., 237-239.

† Birck, 14.

‡ See Palacky, iii., 3, 4 *et seq.*, and v. Bezold, iii., 158 *et seq.*

§ The candid, ardent, and powerful words addressed by Cesarini to the Pope on January 13th, 1432, are given without a date in the

in vain, for Eugenius would not yield. In order to defend themselves from the Pope, the members of the Synod of Basle, who were sure of King Sigismund's protection, proceeded to re-assert the revolutionary resolutions by which the Council of Constance had been declared superior to the Pope (February 15, 1432). Measures of a yet more hostile character soon followed. On the 29th of April the Pope and his Cardinals were formally summoned to Basle, and threatened with proceedings for contumacy, in the event of their failure to appear within a period of three months. This was a decided step towards the revolution, for which Nicholas of Cusa sought to furnish a scientific justification in his treatise "On Catholic Unity."* An order published *Fascil. rerum expetend. ac fugiend. (Coloniæ, 1537), f. 27-32*, and in Brown, *Fasc.*, i., 54. John of Segovia inserts the letter in full in his Historical work: *Mon. Concil.*, ii., 95-107 (the date is given, but the text does not exactly agree with that of the *Fasciculus*): "Si concilium dissolvitur, quid dicent hæretici? Nonne insultabunt in nostros et sicut proterviores? Nonne ecclesia fatebitur se esse victam, cum non ausa fuerit expectare illos, qui vocaverat? . . . Quid dicet universus orbis, cum hoc sentiet? nonne iudicabit clerum esse incorrigibilem et velle semper in suis deformitatibus sordescere? Celebrata sunt diebus nostris tot concilia, ex quibus nulla secuta est reformatio. Expectabant gentes, ut ex hoc sequeretur aliquis fructus; sed si sic dissolvatur, dicetur quod irridemus Deum et homines et quod, cum iam nulla spes supererit de nostra correctione, irruent merito laici in nos more Husitarum. . . . Nunquam fuisset celebratum aliquod concilium, si huiusmodi timor invassisset corda patrum nostrorum, sicut invadit vestra."

* Kraus, 447. Scharpff (*Nic. von Cusa*, i., 32-112, and *Nic. von Cusa als Reformator*, 69 *et seq.*) is far too lenient in his judgment of the treatise, "De concordantia catholica." See on the other side, Gieseler, ii., 4, 62, and Brockhaus, 15. The former observes with some reason, that the work in question contains propositions "which threatened the Papacy in its fundamental principles." For the rest, the investigations as to the meaning of the whole work are inconclusive. See Schwab, in the *Theol. Lit. Bl.*, 1867, p. 628-629.

on the 26th of September, 1432, facilitated its accomplishment, by admitting representatives of the lower ranks of the clergy to the Council in such overwhelming numbers, that the higher ecclesiastics were completely deprived of that moderating influence in such assemblies which undoubtedly belonged to them.*

It is impossible to justify the course taken by the Synod of Basle, which soon overstepped all bounds in its opposition to Eugenius IV. At Constance, doubts regarding the legitimacy of one or other of the Popes may in some degree have excused adherence to the false theories by which a way of escape from an intolerable position was sought. The Basle Assembly now extended the Decrees to the case of an undoubted Pope, whose position was universally acknowledged. In its resistance to him, it assumed the proud title of an Œcumenical Council, assembled and enlightened by the Holy Spirit, and endeavoured to make the extraordinary power, which the Synod of Constance had exercised under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances, a precedent of general application. The pretension of a handful of prelates and doctors to represent the whole Catholic Church, would at other times have been ridiculed; now, they might count on success, partly because of the confusion of opinion on such matters due to the Schism, and partly because of the credit which Court favour and effectual negotiations with the Hussites had won for their Assembly.† The danger which threatened the

* O. Richter, *Die Organisation und Geschäftsordnung des Basler Concils. Inaugural-Dissertation* (Leipzig, 1877), 35. See also Voigt, *Enea Silvio*, i., 102 *et seq.*, who portrays the action of the clerical Democrats extremely well.

† This is Hergenröther's opinion, ii., 1, 97. Phillips speaks in similar terms (iv., 450 *et seq.*). See also Döllinger's satirical picture of the proceedings at Basle (*Lehrbuch*, ii., 1, 320 *et seq.*).

Papacy and the Church was of incalculable magnitude, for if the Basle resolutions were carried into effect, the overthrow of the divinely-established constitution of the Church was inevitable; the Vicar of Christ became merely the first official of a Constitutional Assembly. If priests dealt in a similar manner with their Bishops and the faithful with their priests, the dissolution of the whole Church would be the necessary consequence.*

The Synod had entered on a course which was leading to a new Schism, and this was clearly perceived in Rome.

The gravity of the whole position, the continued excitement in the States of the Church, combined with the opposition to the Pope's line of conduct which had arisen †

“Instead of displaying practical energy,” says Hefele (Tüb. Quartalschr., 1847, p. 73), “the members of the Council of Basle, as if possessed by some spirit of mischief, kept constantly returning to questions of principle, and speculations as to the relation between Pope and General Council.”

* So says Weiss, iii., 2nd ed., 1404. See Düx, i., 250. Not content with overthrowing the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, in June, 1432, the Assembly of Basle also made an attempt to deprive him of the exercise of his temporal sovereignty by appointing a new Legate and Governor for Avignon and Venaissin (Mansi, xxix., 34-36.)

† See Aschbach, iv., 84. Voigt, Stimmen, 75, and A. Kluckhohn, Herzog Wilhelm III., der Protector des Basler Concils (in the Forschungen, ii., 559). St. Frances of Rome had also through her confessor besought the Pope to come to terms with the Council. His account of the matter (dated 1432, April 3) is interesting. “E stando anche in extasi la beata me disse da parte dello apostolo San. Thomao assai parole le quale non scrivo per la prolixità. Ma in substantia disse che io andassi ad Papa Eugenio da parte dello Signore, che li dicessi che se unissi collo consiglio da basileà perchè era pericolo della scisma, et che de ciò se consigliassi con servi de Dio insieme colli cardinali, et quella determinatione che se faceva colli servi di Dio se facessi. Advenga che più altre fiate in extasi la beata me disse da parte dello Signore che io andassi allo dicto

in the Sacred College, at last induced Eugenius IV. to yield, and to enter into negotiations with the Council. Its overweening pretensions would have frustrated all attempts to arrange matters, had it not been for the exertions of Sigismund, who was crowned Emperor at Rome on the 31st May, 1433. The Pope recalled the Decree dissolving the Council, and, reserving his own rights and those of the Apostolic See, acknowledged it as Œcumenical in its origin and proceedings (15th December, 1433), in a Bull which, although it went to the utmost possible limit of concession, did not expressly confirm the Anti-Papal resolutions previously adopted by the Synod.* This Bull was, so to speak, extorted from the Pope by the extreme dangers which at the time threatened his position in Italy.†

The very soul of all the Anti-Papal conspiracies was Duke Filippo Maria Visconti, of Milan. The Venetian Pope had incurred the hatred of this tyrant from the very beginning of his reign, by showing favour to his enemies the Republics of Venice and Florence.‡ Eugenius' con-

Pontefice Papa Eugenio, che lo ammonissi de certe cose o vero li recordassi. Onde andando io ad fare la ambasciata, et esso non apprezzando lo dicto fui ammonito che non ce andassi più, et che lo lassassi nello suo volere. Disse anche che se pregassi molto il Signore perchè lanime non periscano per lo male lo quale se apparecchiava." Armellini, Vita, 85-86.

* See Phillips, ii., 267; iv., 453. Hergenröther, ii., 1, 103 *et seq.* Balan, v., 114.

† Turrecremata, De ecclesia, i., ii., c. 100, p. 238.

‡ See Cipolla, 394 *et seq.*, and L. Banchi, Istruzioni ad ambasciatori Senesi e relazioni di essi alla republica 25 *et seq.* The Florentines expressed their joy immediately after the Election of Eugenius IV. Their * letter of congratulation to the newly-elected Pontiff, dated 1430 (st. Flor.) March 5, contains the following words, "Gratulamur etiam nobis et civitati nostre, quod ea persona subli-

test with the Council furnished the Duke of Milan with a welcome opportunity of avenging himself on the Pope, by inducing his Condottieri Niccolò Fortebraccio and Francesco Sforza to invade the unquiet States of the Church. Both of these leaders professed to be acting by the command of the Council of Basle.* Fortebraccio, supported by the Colonna family,† made a rapid advance to the very gates of Rome; Eugenius fled to St. Angelo, then to San. Lorenzo in Damaso, and lastly to the Trastevere.‡ Some of the Cardinals thought the Pope's cause quite desperate, and left the Eternal City. The Savelli openly joined the Pope's enemies; among the great Roman families, he had only some of the Orsini and Conti on his side. His contemporary Flavio Biondo says, "it is shorter to reckon those who remained true than those who fell away."§

In this extremity, being without any steadfast allies, and surrounded by enemies, Eugenius IV. resolved to yield to the demands of the Assembly at Basle.

mata est, que nos et civitatem nostram unice semper dilexit," etc. Cl. x., dist. i., No. 31, f. 31. State Archives at Florence.

* In the Proclamation to the inhabitants of Macerata, Sforza says: "Io son venuto per commandamento del Santo Concilio, el quale essendo pienamente informato de la cattiva vita di Eugenio PP., ut ipse dicit, e de li mali modi per lui continuamente tenuti ecc." Compagnoni, 324. Regarding the letters in which Fortebraccio styles himself s. synodi et s. matris ecclesiæ capitaneus generalis, see Arch. stor. Ital., xvi., i., 366-367.

† Eugenius IV. published a Bull on the 9th October, 1433, excommunicating the Colonnas; see Theiner, Cod. iii., 322. The Council then commended them to Gentile Orsini's protection; see the ** letter addressed to him by the Basle Synod, d.d. Basileæ, xv., Cal. Jan. A^o a nat. dom., 1434. The original is in the Orsini Archives in Rome, ii., A. xiv., No. 61a.

‡ Cronache Romane, 4.

§ See Papencordt, 473.

After his reconciliation with the Council the Pope endeavoured to free himself from foes nearer home. In March, 1434, a treaty was concluded with Sforza, in virtue of which this brave leader, the most distinguished General Italy had known since the days of Julius Cæsar, and the greatest statesman of his time,* was appointed Vicar in the March of Ancona and Standard Bearer of the Church. Eugenius IV. also sought to come to an understanding with Fortebraccio, but his advances were contemptuously repelled, and, in conjunction with Niccolò Piccinino, Visconti's General, the Condottiere laid waste the neighbourhood of the Eternal City. Meanwhile emissaries from Milan, Piccinino, the Colonna family, and, it may be, also from the Council, were busily at work stirring up the Romans against the Pope. Their success was greatly facilitated by the conduct of Cardinal Francesco Condulmaro, who met the Roman deputies when they came to complain of the miseries of constant warfare and of the ruin of their property, with the scorn of a Venetian noble.†

On the 29th May, 1434, the Revolution broke out in Rome; the Capitol was stormed, the Pope's nephew imprisoned, and finally a Republic proclaimed. Eugenius IV. now resolved to fly.‡ On the 4th June he rode, in the garb of a Benedictine monk, to the banks of the Tiber, where a boat received him; he was recognized as he was sailing away, and a shower of stones was thrown at him. Lying in the bottom of the boat and covered with a shield

* Sugenheim, 320.

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 43. Papencordt, 474.

‡ Blondus gives a graphic picture of these events, Dec. III., vi. (Opp. ii., 481-484); see Masius, 45. The Florentines had already offered their City to the Pope, in December, 1433; see *Nota ed informazione a te Felice Brancacci ambasciadore . . . al santo padre, d.d. xiii. di Dicembre, 1433. Cl x., dist. 1, N. 33, f. 88, *seq.* State Archives at Florence.

he escaped uninjured to Ostia; a galley thence conveyed him to Pisa and Florence, and, like his predecessor, he took up his abode there in the Dominican Monastery of Sta. Maria Novella.*

The Roman Republic was of short duration; after the flight of the Pope the Eternal City became a prey to complete anarchy. The palace in the Trastevere where Eugenius IV. had been living and the Vatican were plundered by the populace, who also robbed the Papal Courtiers.† Baldassare d'Offida, the Papal Castellan, held the Castle of St. Angelo, and with his artillery overawed the adjacent parts of the City. The new Government at the Capitol was bad and thoroughly incompetent; the rulers only despoiled the City,‡ and many who had hoped that the overthrow of the Papal power would inaugurate a golden age, were grievously disappointed. The Romans soon perceived that nothing could be worse than the rule of their own people, and that the "freedom" of the city, which had been forsaken by most of its foreign inhabitants, brought with it nothing but evil.§ A great desire for the

* Eugenius IV. arrived in Florence on the 23rd June, 1434. The instructions for the Deputation sent to welcome him (*Nota ed informatione a voi Mess. Francesco Castellani, Mess. Carlo Federighi, Agnolo di Filippo Pandolfini, Ridolfo Peruzzi, Bartholomeo Ridolfi, Andrea di Rinaldo Rondinelli, Agnoli di Neri di Mess. Andrea Vettori e Piero Bruneleschi) is dated June 16th. Cl. X. dist. 1, n. 33, f. 119, b. *seq.* State Archives at Florence.

† See Niccola della Tuccia, 142; Theiner, iii., 325, and *a Brief addressed by Eugenius IV. to "Petro Nardi capell. ac. s. palatii caesar. audit. et Rudolfo ord. heremit. min. poenitentiario necnon Thomæ canonico S. Mariæ Transtib. de Urbe," d.d. Pisis anno inc. dom. 1434, quinto-decimo Cal. Julii Pontif. anno iv. Copy from the Chartul. S. Mariæ Transtib. in Cod. Vatic. 805, 1, f. 104-105.

‡ See Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 48.

§ Niccola della Tuccia, 146-147.

Pope's return filled men's minds, but Eugenius thought himself safer in his exile at Florence than in his capital, and sent Giovanni Vitelleschi, Bishop of Recanati, to the States of the Church as his representative. In October, 1434, when he entered Rome, the people rose up with the cry : "The Church ! the Church !" and the Papal authority was soon re-established.

Vitelleschi is one of the most remarkable figures of his time. He belonged to a family of note in Corneto, bore arms in his youth under Tartaglia, but entered the ecclesiastical career after the accession of Martin V. He had, however, no vocation to the priesthood, and his elevation to the See of Recanati can only be accounted for by the existing confusion of spiritual and temporal affairs. He was a brave knight, but no pastor of souls, and, even under the mitre, he retained the character and manners of a Condottiere. In the field, his courage and military skill were unsurpassed by any leader of the day. Had he not been bound to the service of the Church, he would have won both glory and power, as did Sforza, Niccolò Piccinino, and others. He was ambitious, crafty, avaricious, and cruel, yet there was something magnificent about him, and he was determined and brave.* This man, who, according to Infessura, struck all who saw him with fear, now went forth with dauntless energy, not merely to humble the foes of the Pope in the States of the Church, but to destroy them with fire and sword. The first to feel the weight of his iron hand was the ancient race of Vico, who had always been at variance with the Pope. The City Prefect, Giacomo da Vico, the last of the family, was compelled to surrender his

* I have borrowed the sketch of Vitelleschi's character from Papencordt's remarkable work (477). See also Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 49 *et seq.*, and Reumont, iii., 1, 93 *et seq.*, 485 *et seq.*

Castle of Vetralla, brought to trial, and then beheaded. Eugenius IV. then raised Francesco Orsini to the rank of Prefect of the City, at the same time greatly restricting the jurisdiction of the office by appointing the Vicecamerlengo Governor of the City and its territory, with authority in matters of police and criminal cases.*

Vitelleschi's first successes were rewarded by his elevation to the dignities of Patriarch of Alexandria and Archbishop of Florence. During his absence a fresh insurrection, in which the Conti, Colonna, Gaetani, and Savelli took part, broke out in Rome. The Patriarch, as Vitelleschi now called himself, at once hastened back to execute bloody vengeance on the offenders. The Castles of the Savelli and Colonna were forcibly taken and destroyed; and Palestrina, the principal fortress of the latter family, was also compelled to surrender on the 18th August, 1436.† On his return to Rome he was received with honours such as hitherto had been rendered to none but Popes and Emperors. Senate and people determined to erect an equestrian statue of him in marble on the Capitol, with the inscription, "To Giovanni Vitelleschi, Patriarch of Alexandria, the third Father of the City of Rome, after Romulus." Winter brought him back to his native City of Corneto, where he built himself a palace which, notwithstanding its present fallen condition, is one of the most imposing examples still remaining in Italy of the transition

* See Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 51-52. Papencordt, 476-477. Ciampi on N. della Tuccia, 407 *et seq.* The decree in favour of Fr. Orsini is in Contelorus, De præf., 559. I have seen in the Carte Strozzi, 111, f. 153, in the State Archives at Florence, an *original letter from "Jacobus de Vico almæ urbis præfectus" to the City of Siena, dated Civitavecchia, 1426, May 26.

† See Petrini, Mem. Prenest., 175 *et seq.*, 448. Coppi, Mem. Col., 200.

from the Gothic to the Renaissance period of architecture.*

With the spring of the following year (1437) the work of vengeance against the tyrants of the Campagna began anew. In the end of March workmen were sent to Palestrina with orders to raze the city to the ground. The terrible work went on for forty days, and even the churches were not spared.† In the struggle for the throne of Naples, Vitelleschi, by the command of Eugenius, espoused the cause of Anjou, against Alfonso of Aragon, who harassed the States of the Church from the South and kept up open relations with the Pope's enemies. The Patriarch took Antonio Orsini, Prince of Tarento, the most powerful of Alfonso's partisans, prisoner, and the Pope acknowledged this service by creating him Cardinal (August 9th, 1437).‡ His other military enterprises in the Kingdom of Naples were unsuccessful, and he returned to the States of the Church to resume his merciless warfare against their tyrants. Lorenzo Colonna had taken Zagarolo by surprise in 1439. On the 2nd of April the Cardinal stormed the place, and had it levelled to the ground; fresh struggles with Niccolò Savelli and the Trinci in Foligno followed. Vitelleschi was again victorious; the whole territory from Civitavecchia to the Neapolitan frontier was in his power;

* Papencordt, 479. See Petrini, 448-452. Coppi in *Atti dell' Accad. Rom. di Archeol.*, xv., 328. N. della Tuccia, 55, N. 161, 168, 171; see also *Atti dei Lincel.*, Serie iii., i., 324-325. A good engraving of the Vitelleschi Palace at Corneto is given in Müntz, *La Renaissance*, 165.

† The doorposts of the Cathedral of Palestrina are still to be seen at the entrance of the Vitelleschi Palace. The destruction of the City probably took place without the knowledge of the Pope. See Petrini, 177, 455-456.

‡ Cardinal Capranica protested against his elevation. See Catalanus, 68, 218-225.

four thousand horsemen and two thousand foot soldiers were constantly in readiness to quell any resistance.

In Rome the Cardinal ruled with a despotism hitherto unknown; the Romans, weary of endless disquiet, forgave everything because he maintained order; even his deeds of cruelty were excused. "Never, up to the present day," says the simple-minded Paolo di Liello Petrone, "has anyone done so much for the welfare of our City of Rome; if only he had not been so cruel; although he was almost compelled thereto on account of the corruption which prevailed in Rome and its neighbourhood to such a degree, that murders and robberies were committed by the citizens and peasants by night and by day."* In order to restore the Leonine City, Vitelleschi, following the example of Romulus, sought to re-people this devastated quarter by granting to it the privileges of asylum for criminals and freedom from taxes, and civil autonomy.† The power of the Cardinal was at its height when he suddenly fell.

This event is veiled in the deepest obscurity; it is more than probable that the Florentines had a hand in it. His enemies allied themselves with Antonio Rido, the Castellan of St. Angelo, whose relations with Vitelleschi were strained to the utmost. On the 19th March, 1440, Rido had an interview with Vitelleschi, who had everything in readiness for a fresh expedition to Umbria, on the Bridge of St. Angelo. Rido kept the Cardinal in conversation until his troops had passed over. Then, at a given signal, the narrow door leading to the Borgo was shut, a chain,

* Muratori, xxiv., 1122. See P. G. P. Sacchi jr. in *N. della Tuccia*, 171.

† See Bull. Vatic., ii., 92. Adinolfi, *Portica*, 54. Vitelleschi also provided for the Hospital of Santo Spirito, * "1440, April 2nd, † J. Vitelleschi, qui plurima et gratissima servitia hospitali et ordini S. Spiritus fecit." Cod. Vatic., 7871, f. 48, Vatican Library.

which had secretly been placed in readiness, was drawn across the bridge, and Rido's soldiers pressed forward to seize Vitelleschi. In vain did the Cardinal with his followers endeavour to fight his way through. He was wounded, dragged from his horse, and shut up in St. Angelo; his soldiers, on hearing the tidings, would have stormed the castle, but Rido managed to appease them by the publication of a Papal warrant for his arrest, the genuineness of which they were unable to test. A fortnight later (2nd April) the Cardinal was a corpse.*

Such are the actual facts of the case, and everything else is more or less uncertain. The words written by a contemporary chronicler are still essentially true; no one knew on what grounds Vitelleschi had been taken prisoner, or who had given orders for his arrest, or if the real cause of his death had been violence or poison.†

The question whether Eugenius IV. consented to the imprisonment of his favourite is one which cannot be answered with certainty; yet many historians have affirmed that he did, and it is most probable that Rido's action was not altogether spontaneous and independent. Yet, if we may believe his own letter to the Florentines, written immediately after the arrest—which is doubtful—this opinion cannot be maintained. Rido here declares that Vitelleschi repeatedly endeavoured to wrest the fortress

* See Papencordt, 480-481, where the original sources of information are very well put together. To these must now be added the narrative of P. G. P. Sacchi jr, published by Ciampi (N. della Tuccia, 172), and the important *letter of Rido to the Florentines (see Appendix No. 20), which I discovered in the State Archives of Florence.

† Cronaca Riminese, 937. Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 73 *et seq.*) says, "it is probable, although not proved, that Vitelleschi himself was a traitor." Reumont (iii., 1, 97 f.), l'Épinois (417), and Cipolla (405 *et seq.*), speak more cautiously.

from him, to the great detriment of the Church and of the Pope, that he knew the Cardinal to be an open enemy of the Pope, and that, therefore, he had on that very day taken him prisoner, but without the permission of Eugenius, whom he could not inform beforehand for want of time. This remarkable letter concludes by saying "I have done to him what he undoubtedly desired to do to me."*

This single document, taken by itself, is not sufficient to decide the question positively, yet it is calculated to shake our confidence in the often-repeated assertion that "Eugenius consented to the imprisonment of his favourite."† A complete explanation of the complicated events of this period can only be furnished by further researches in the Archives.

The Pope was too much in the power of the Florentines to condemn Vitelleschi's imprisonment, and Rido was at once promoted to high dignity. It would seem that proofs of the treasonable designs attributed to the Cardinal were not forthcoming, for in subsequent Briefs the Pope repeatedly speaks of him as his "beloved son." In a Brief to the inhabitants of Corneto, his imprisonment is represented as the accidental consequence of dissensions between him and Rido, and then Scarampo's nomination as Legate is announced without comment. This document contains no word of complaint against Rido, who, like Vitelleschi, is styled by the Pope "beloved son," but there is a passage which seems directly to contradict the supposition that the latter had wished to found a State for himself.‡ Scarampo, like his predecessor, was a worldly-minded Prelate; he had

* See the text in Appendix No. 20, from the original in the State Archives in Florence.

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 74.

‡ See in Appendix No. 21, the text of the Brief which bears date 3rd April, 1440, and is preserved in the Archives of Corneto.

formerly been a physician, and it is said that Eugenius owed his recovery from an illness to his care. Under Vitelleschi, he followed the career of arms, later on he took orders, was made Archbishop of Florence, and soon after his appointment as Vitelleschi's successor, was raised to the purple (July 1, 1440).*

Pietro Barbo, son of Nicholas Barbo and Polyxena Condulmaro, sister to Eugenius IV., was at the same time created Cardinal. Barbo was extremely fond of splendour, very generous, learned in Canon law, and an enthusiastic collector of ancient coins and gems; in a later portion of this work we shall speak of his collections and of his palace. A bitter and lasting feud existed between him and Scarampo.

Scarampo's government of Rome was as severe as that of Vitelleschi, but he did far more for the restoration of the afflicted city, and has justly been praised for his efforts to raise the Romans from the sloth into which they had fallen, and to make of them civilized beings.†

The flight of Eugenius IV. to Florence—the last event of the kind until the flight of Pius IX.—had, especially in one respect, consequences of a far-reaching nature.‡

The whole intellectual training of Eugenius, who, even while he occupied the Papal throne, never ceased to be the

* See Ciaconius, ii., 919 *et seq.*; Eggs, iii.-iv., 129 *et seq.*; Reumont, iii., 1, 488 *et seq.*; *Chronique Anconit.*, ed. Ciaverini, 1, 166; Marini, *Archiatr.*, i., 143, and Cancellieri, *Notizie di alcune celebre promozioni e specialmente di quella del card. L. Scarampo* in the *Effem. lett. di Roma* (Roma, 1822), viii., 29 *et seq.*

† See Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 616. Müntz, i., 36. The wealthy Scarampo also collected antiques; see Müntz, *Précurseurs*, 40 *et seq.*, 108, 128.

‡ Eugenius IV. was the twenty-sixth Pope who had been compelled to flee from Rome. See the enumeration in Cod. 36, D. 2, f. 394 of the Corsini Library in Rome

austere monk, tended to keep him untouched by the Renaissance movement, but he was by no means indifferent to the progress of science, and had given proof of his zeal in this matter by his re-establishment (1431) of the Roman University, which "had been completely ruined by the misfortunes of the time, and the disunion of the Church."* He also encouraged artists, and was well disposed to carry on the work of Martin V., but the Roman Revolution of 1434 suddenly interrupted every effort of the kind.

Pope Eugenius IV.'s choice of Florence, the home of revived art and the intellectual centre of Humanism in Italy, as his abode, was a matter of the greatest importance. The Pope and his Court, by their lengthened sojourn there† and by the negotiations with the Greeks, were brought into the closest contact with the Renaissance; and the vehement discussions which soon afterwards broke out in regard to the Councils, compelled him to secure the services of skilful pens, so as to fight his opponents with their own weapons. The years spent in Florence, however, were of more weight than all besides. It was impossible to live in the very home of the Renaissance and remain insensible to its influence. This was, however, a time of probation for the Humanistic Secretaries of the Pope. The sources of

* See Savigny, iii., 319, 321. Renazzi, i., 116 *et seq.* F. Denifle (Universitäten, T. 1, p. 213) says with reason: "It is an ineffable glory for the name of Eugenius IV. to have assisted in the work of restoration of the Roman University."

† Eugenius IV. arrived at Florence on the 23rd June, 1434, and remained there until April, 1436, when he went to Bologna. Shortly before his departure he consecrated the Cathedral, whose cupola had been completed by Brunelleschi two years before. See C. Guasti, *La Cupola di St. Maria del Fiore* (Firenze, 1857), 9, 37, 89. On the 27th January, 1439, Eugenius returned to Florence for the Council and stayed there until the 7th March, 1443 (not the end of 1442, as von Ottenthal, 29, states). See Graziani, 526 n.

remuneration failed, and in consequence many members of the Court left their Master. Among the few who remained faithful was Flavio Biondo,* who had been appointed Apostolic Secretary early in the year 1434. In his simplicity, modesty, and purity of life this hard-working man, who was a representative of the Christian Renaissance, forms a consoling contrast to the unprincipled Poggio and his fellows.† The Pope had a great regard for him, and Biondo, on his side, manifested his gratitude by dedicating to Eugenius IV. his historical description of the City of Rome ("Roma Instaurata"). This is in some respects a very remarkable work, being the first topographical account of the Eternal City founded on a systematic use of documentary sources of information. It is also full of original, though often mistaken, ideas. Biondo is, in fact, the founder of a special branch of science—that of topography.‡ His book abounds in information regarding Christian Rome. Unlike Poggio, from whose "Wanderings through Rome" all allusion to this aspect of the Eternal City is carefully excluded, Biondo, the Christian Humanist, brings it prominently forward. With Petrarch, he believes that the majesty and glory of Rome stand on another and surer foundation than the vanished pomp of Capitol and Palatine, the renown of her Consuls and Legions. At the end of the third book he gives a complete list of the principal churches, chapels, and holy places. He justly prizes the sanctuaries and relics of Our Lord, the handkerchief of

* Regarding his appointment see Wilmann's account, derived from the Archives in Gött. Gel. Anz., 1879, p. 1495-1497.

† Masius, 21, tells us how Biondo kept aloof from Poggio. Biondo's epitaph, which has often been given incorrectly, is to be found in Casimiro, 265 *et seq.*, as well as in the places named by Masius (5).

‡ See Masius, 49 *et seq.* Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* (Berlin, 1878), i., 1, 77.

St. Veronica, and the shrine, *Domine quo vadis*, and those of the Apostles and Martyrs, as the peculiar and inalienable treasure of Rome. The thought of the glorious remains preserved in the Eternal City consoles him for the ruin which meets him on every side. An intelligent interest in Christian antiquity pervades the whole work, which, at its commencement, undertakes to point out the sanctuaries of the martyrs, and especially to inform its readers where and by whom the churches were built. Accordingly, throughout the whole of the first volume, which follows the topographical order, the churches are introduced together with the edifices of ancient Rome. The restoration of ecclesiastical buildings, accomplished by the zeal of Eugenius IV., is repeatedly mentioned in terms of the highest praise; and other works are not unnoticed, as, for example, the magnificent completion of the Palace of San Lorenzo in Lucina, whose foundations had been laid in 1300, and whose construction had been carried on by many successive Cardinals; also the rebuilding of the bridges connecting the Island of the Tiber with the rest of Rome, by order of Eugenius IV. It will be seen that Biondo may fairly claim the title of founder of Christian and mediæval topography.*

To give an account of all the Humanists who entered the Papal service during the Pontificate of Eugenius IV. does not fall within the scope of the present work.† We need only remark that their number was surprisingly great and that, notwithstanding the Pope's austerity, little or no regard was paid in their selection to Christian conduct or to religious sentiments. At this time, indeed, the antagonism which afterwards appeared was still latent, and the partisans of the Christian and Heathen Renaissance

* Piper, *Einleitung*, 668-669. See also Reumont, iii., 1, 312, and Burckhardt, *Cultur*, i., 3rd ed., 226-227.

† See Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 32-44.

associated freely with one another. The literary gatherings which took place every morning and evening at Florence, in the vicinity of the Papal residence, with Manetti, Traversari and Parentucelli included also Poggio and Carlo Marsuppini, who on his death-bed scorned the consolations of Religion.*

The decision with which Eugenius forbade Valla's return to Rome, when he sought forgiveness and offered his services and his measures against Beccadelli's disgraceful book, prove, nevertheless, that he did not practically ignore the dangers of the heathen Renaissance. It is probable that he would have opposed it in a far more energetic manner, had not the contest with the Council of Basle taxed all his powers to the utmost, and made the greatest consideration towards the Humanists with their ready pens a necessity. The Pope feared them, because, as he once observed, they were not wont to pass over an injury, and because they could avenge themselves with weapons which were hard to parry.† Humanistic studies were warmly encouraged in this Pontificate, as they had been in the preceding one, by Cardinals Giordano Orsini (†1438), Alberghi (†1443), Giuliano Cesarini (†1444), Prospero Colonna, and Domenico Capranica. The last-named Cardinal had a choice library of two thousand volumes, which he generously

* See *supra* p. 27. According to Voigt, the dignity of Papal Secretary was in the case of Marsuppini purely honorary, and he may never have drawn up a document for the Chancery.

† Ægidius of Viterbo has preserved this saying of the Pope's. **Historia viginti sæculorum*: "Amavit hic viros doctos per multisque liberalis admodum fuit dictitans doctorum virorum non modo amandam eruditionem, sed etiam indignationem formidandam quippe qui impune lædi non soleant: telis illos armatos esse quæ vitari non possint." Cod. C. 8, 9, f. 286 of the Angelica Library in Rome.

opened to all students.* Gerardo Landriani (†1445) another patron of the Humanists, was raised to the purple by Eugenius IV. at the Council of Florence. He had a valuable library of classical works, many of which were rare. His learning was justly esteemed, and the discourses which he made before the Council of Basle and as Ambassador to the King of England, were transcribed, and regarded as elegant compositions.† This Cardinal was on friendly terms with Marsuppini, Poggio, and even Beccadelli, a circumstance which gave no offence to their contemporaries. It became more and more the custom to flatter the Humanists on account of their literary services. Those were the days when the ascetic Alberghati held constant intercourse with half-heathen wits, and the pious Capranica welcomed Poggio's letters and addressed him as his "very dear comrade."‡

Besides these Cardinals we must mention Bessarion as a diligent collector of books, a laborious author, and a friend and patron of scholars. He was the protector of all the learned Greeks who had any reason to apply to the Papal Court.§

It is not easy to pronounce a general judgment as to the circumstances which prepared the way for the Pontificate of the first Humanist who ever mounted the Papal Throne, yet we may safely say that the contact of Pope and Court with the vigorous literary life of Florence had in some respects a very beneficial effect. On the other hand, however, it was undoubtedly one of the contributing causes of that predominance of Humanists in the Roman Court which, in

* Catalanus, 129.

† Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, ii., 2nd ed., 31.

‡ See Catalanus, 262.

§ Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 29-31. Vast, Bessarion, 165 *et seq.* See *infra* p. 319, *et seq.*

itself, and still more on account of their heathen tendencies, awakened grave apprehensions.*

The Italian troubles consequent on the exile of Eugenius were small compared with those provoked by the Assembly at Basle. Neither the fact of his compliance nor his defenceless position† availed to soften the hearts of the bitter enemies of the Papacy in that City. The reconciliation had been only apparent, and the feelings of the majority were unchanged, so that the fanatical partizans of the Council soon gained the upper hand. Their leader was Cardinal Louis Allemand of Arles, and their object was to make the Council permanent and endow it with all the attributes of sovereignty, judicial, administrative, legislative, and executive, with the Pope as its more or less necessary appendage.‡ Instead of the reform of the ecclesiastical abuses, which in many countries had reached a fearful pitch, the diminution of the Papal authority and the destruction of the monarchical character of the Church became the chief business of the Synod.§

A decree abolishing at one blow all annates, pallium-fees, taxes, and other charges was issued by this Assembly, and was well calculated to provoke a desperate struggle between the Pope and the Council. A Protestant historian remarks that this "decree, even if in itself just and necessary, was, with such extensive provisions, at this moment, a party measure of extreme violence. The Pope, with a portion of his Court, was in exile at Florence, and

* Reumont, iii., 1, 314.

† "Stava in Firenze," writes Nic. della Tuccia, 144, "senza corte e senza cardinali."

‡ Hergenröther, ii., 1, 106-107. Hefele, vii., 583 *et seq.*, gives a full account of the intrigues of this party.

§ For the decrees of reform published by the Council, see Hefele, vii., 593 *et seq.*

dependent on the alms of his allies. He was more than ever in need of money for subsidies to the troops, by whose help alone he could recover for himself, and for the Church, the territories which had been wrested from her or had revolted against her. And, at this very time, his last source of revenue was cut off. In vain did the Papal Legates ask how the officials of the Court were to be paid, embassies kept up, exiled prelates supported, and heretics and enemies of the Church overcome. It seemed as if the Council counted on the Pope's disobeying its decree and thus giving fresh occasion for judicial proceedings. There was a tone of irony in the discourses which were constantly made in praise of Apostolic poverty, and in the suggestion that the Pope, undisturbed by temporal cares, could live entirely for the service of God. At Constance, the abolition of the annates had been demanded, but in view of the Pope's defenceless position, deferred. This consideration was at that time an act of forbearance, now it was a duty."*

Further decrees against the Pope soon followed. They were so prejudicial to the undoubted rights of the Holy See that Eugenius IV. was constrained to address a memorial to all the European Powers, making bitter complaints of the unheard of presumption of the Synod. It had, he says, degraded his Legates by arbitrarily limiting their authority; made their presidency merely nominal by resolving that its decisions should be published by others and without their consent; transformed itself into a headless body; subjected the Pope, by a false interpretation of

* Voigt, *Enea Silvio*, i., 76-77. See also Raumer, 129-130 Aschbach, iv., 356-357; Birck, 7, and Zhishman, 93 *et seq.* The Protestant C. A. Menzel says (vii., 127) that the proceedings of the Council were calculated to reduce the sole Ruler of the Church to the position of a mere servant of the Council.

the Constance decrees, to the censorship of the Synod, in a manner unknown to former times; undertaken an immense amount of business, and involved itself in discussions altogether foreign to its proper object; given away many benefices; erected commenda; granted Papal dispensations; demanded for itself the annates refused to the Pope; assumed the right of dealing with cases reserved to the Holy See; and suppressed the Prayer for the Pope in the Liturgy. The undue extension to private persons of the right of suffrage, in direct opposition to the ancient custom of Councils, is justly viewed by the Pope as the chief source of all this confusion. Measures adopted at Constance with a view to the unanimous decision of the great question of the Schism,—a matter of universal consequence—were made applicable to all cases and extended in their scope. With a fallacious appeal to this isolated example, an assembly, the majority of whose members were men of no real weight, proceeded to deal with affairs of the utmost importance, gave forth as the decisions of a General Council decrees which had been drawn up in an unlawful and precipitate manner, and endeavoured to overturn the constitution of the Church. For these reasons the Pope deemed that it was time for princes to recall their Bishops and Ambassadors from Basle, and so render possible the assembling of another and better-disposed Council.*

The complaints of Eugenius, who was unwilling to let his high dignity become a mere shadow, were fully justified, for the conduct of the clerical democracy at Basle went beyond all bounds. The majority of the Assembly consisted of Frenchmen, and offered no opposition to any measure directed against the exiled Pope; the most

* Raynaldus, ad an. 1436, n. 2, 16. See Döllinger, ii., 1, 331. Hergenröther, ii., 1, 108. Creighton, ii., 127.

fanatical party seized every opportunity of making him feel their power and ill-will.* Their real object was declared with admirable candour by the Bishop of Tours in one of the Sessions in the following words: "We must either wrest the Apostolic See from the hands of the Italians, or else despoil it to such a degree that it will not matter where it abides."† The Council would have proceeded yet further in this direction but for a crisis occasioned by the negotiations for union with the Greeks.

The history of these negotiations shows that the Pope alone sincerely sought for union. The Greek Emperor used the idea as a talisman to procure aid against the Turks; the members of the Council of Basle hoped by its means to gain a fresh victory over the Pope, and, by a great success, to recover their hold on public opinion, which was threatening to turn against them.‡ The choice of the place where the Union Council should meet led to fresh discord between the Pope and the Assembly at Basle. In its Session of the 7th May, 1437, an important decision was arrived at. The Anti-Papal party, led by Cardinal Louis Allemand of Arles, had, shortly before this Session, so strengthened itself by the admission of a number of ecclesiastics from the neighbourhood of Basle, that it could command a majority. Amidst violent opposition it decided that Basle should be the place of meeting, or, if this city were not convenient for the Greeks,

* Voigt, *Enëa Silvio*, i., 109. Döllinger, ii., 1, 330. See Düx, i., 288 *et seq.*, and Lederer, 61.

† *Æneas Sylvius, Commentarius*, ed. Fea, 62. For an account of the French efforts to re-establish the Avignon Papacy, see Hefele, vii., 603-604.

‡ This is Pichler's view, i., 389. See Zimmermann, 89 *et seq.*, and Zhishman's unfortunately uncompleted work on the negotiations for Union, 18 *et seq.*, 125 *et seq.*

Avignon, or some city in Savoy, and also that a general tithe should be levied on Church property to meet the necessary expenses. A minority of the Assembly, including Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini and the most esteemed among the Prelates, voted for the selection of Florence or Udine, which had been proposed by the Pope.*

The Pope approved of the decision of the minority, and did everything in his power to hinder the execution of the Decree of the majority. He saw plainly the object of the contemplated transfer of the Council from Basle to Avignon to be the establishment of the Roman Court under French protection in the latter city, after his death or deposition. This purpose explains the obstinacy with which Cardinal Louis Allemand and his followers held to Avignon in spite of the objections of the Pope, ever mindful of the disastrous results of the sojourn of his predecessors in that city, and of the Greeks, which were founded on its great distance from their country. The objections of the Greeks frustrated all negotiations between them and the Cardinal's party, while the superior skill of the Papal diplomatists completely won them over to the side of their master.†

The Pope's success provoked his adversaries at Basle to the utmost, and on the 3rd July, 1437, they issued a monitum, in which, after pouring forth a torrent of accusations against him and even laying all the political miseries of the States of the Church to his charge, they summoned him to appear before their tribunal. A Bull, published on the 18th

* Aschbach, iv., 369. Zhishman, 168 *et seq.*, Hefele, vii., 645 *et seq.* The two decrees were read at the same time, the two parties standing opposite each other in the Cathedral in an attitude so hostile that a bloody encounter was to be apprehended at any moment!

† Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 129. Hefele, vii., 648 *et seq.*, 654 *et seq.*

September, was the Pope's reply to this summons; it declared that the six years' duration of the Council of Basle had produced a surprisingly small result. He made known to all Christendom its evil doings, and should it undertake any measures against him and the Cardinals, or persist in its adherence to the monitum, he required its immediate removal to Ferrara, a city which had been named by the Greeks and which he approved. On the publication of the Bull, the Synod was at once to discontinue its labours, except in regard to Bohemian affairs, which might proceed for thirty-one days more. In any case, however, on the arrival of the Greeks and their ratification of the selection of Ferrara, the Pope transfers the Council to that city, and there, in presence of the new Synod and before the whole world, he will justify his conduct and clear himself from the accusations made against him at Basle. At the same time he annulled the transfer of the Council to Avignon, summoned all who had a right to be present to meet at Ferrara, and formally made the removal to that city known to all the citizens of Basle and to all the illustrious Universities.*

The Synod declared this Bull invalid, and threatened the

* Hefele vii., 650-651. The sterility of the Basle Council, complained of by Eugenius IV., is thus described by Æneas Sylvius in his *Commentarius*, ed. Fea, 62: "Ceterum in communi de moribus, de pietate, de iustitia, de modestia cleri ac populi nihil agebatur. Pluralitas beneficiorum, quia multos tangebatur, prohiberi nunquam potuit. Habitus episcopales, qui apud Alemannos leniusculi (leviusculi?) sunt, reformari non valuerunt nec arma prohibita sacerdotibus nec venationes aut aucupationes non fastus nimis sublatus; quamvis Julianus aurea mulis fræna subtraxerit lege manuali, quæ paucibus mensibus duravit. Non prohibita sumptuosa prandia, non famulatus laicalis, non pecuniaria iudicia, non multitudo ignorantium sacerdotum. Sola reformatio sancta videbatur, si sedes apostolica nuda relinqueretur."

Pope with suspension and deposition. In vain did Cardinal Cesarini once more endeavour to make peace. In a long and fervent discourse, he earnestly entreated the members of the Synod to lay aside all hatred and strife and meet the Greeks,* and send ambassadors to them. Should the Greeks refuse to come to Basle, Avignon, or Savoy, he urged concession to their wishes, inasmuch as union was the principal matter and the place but a secondary consideration. He also insisted on reconciliation with the Pope, lest they should become a laughing-stock to the Greeks. But his words fell upon deaf ears, and with his numerous friends he left Basle.†

The learned Nicholas of Cusa and other distinguished theologians also at this time separated themselves from the Council, and espoused the cause of the Pope. They have been severely blamed for the step and accused of want of principle. But, as the historian of these events very justly observes, "is it impossible that a man should enthusiastically cling to a party as long as he is fully persuaded of the goodness, justice, and usefulness of its aims and proceedings, and when he sees it enter on an evil course and persist in it in spite of all warnings, should sever himself from it and oppose it? Is not this the duty of every honourable and truth-loving man? The estimable Cardinal Cesarini and the great Nicholas of Cusa were warm partisans of the Council of Basle as long as they believed it to be animated by zeal for the improvement of the condition of the Church, for the conversion of those in error and for the restoration of peace and unity. When, however, it became more and more evident that no true regard for the welfare of the Church, but paltry obstinacy and party feeling, ruled its

* The Greeks had embarked in November, 1437, in ships furnished by the Pope. See Zhisman, 215-218 *et seq.*

† Hefele, vii., 653-657.

decisions ; when the hatred of the majority of its members for the Pope had made Schism with all its terrible consequences imminent, these men considered themselves bound to abandon the cause of the Synod, and thereby, as far as in them lay, avert the threatened calamity.*

While the Synod of Basle thus lost its best adherents, the Council, which had been opened at Ferrara on the 8th January, 1438, by Cardinal Albergati, at once attained the greatest importance. On the 4th March the Greek Emperor, John Palæologus, appeared with a numerous train of Greek dignitaries and theologians, amongst whom were Mark of Ephesus, Bessarion of Nicæa, and Gemistos Plethon ; four days later the Greek patriarch Joseph followed. Eugenius IV. had been there ever since the end of January, and immediately after his arrival had convened the members of the Assembly to a solemn Congregation in his private chapel, laid before them the state of his relations with the Synod of Basle, and exhorted them to begin the work of reformation by their own amendment.†

The negotiations with the Greeks dragged on for more than a year, and often it seemed as if the Assembly would disperse without accomplishing its end. Political neces-

* Hefele in Aschbach's *Kirchenlexikon*, I, 498. See *Histor. polit. Bl. xii.*, 599 *et seq.* ; Höfler in *d. Münch. Gel. Anz.* 1848, p. 478 *et seq.*, 482 ; and Dux, i., 166-168 ; *ibid.*, 227 *et seq.*, 233 *et seq.* concerning the subsequent labours of Cusa in the cause of Eugenius and for the cardinal point of ecclesiastical organization. The celebrated J. Nieder also left Basle at the beginning of the year 1436 ; see Schieler, 368.

† Cecconi, *St. del Conc. di Firenze* (1869), i., 208. Hefele, vii., 663. The latter justly observes : "The advice was excellent, for while many talked more than enough about improvement, no results were to be seen ; Eugenius had already written to the Basle Synod that good examples and deeds were needed, not words."

sities at last induced the Greeks to give way, and in July, 1439, the union, which proved but a temporary one, was effected at Florence, the Council having been in the meanwhile transferred to that city.* A document in which the conditions of union were laid down, was signed on the 5th July, 1439, by all the ecclesiastical dignitaries present in Florence, with the exception of some bitter opponents among the Greeks, and on the 6th July it was solemnly read in the Cathedral. It is still preserved as one of the most precious treasures of the Laurentian Library.

The Pope hastened to make the good tidings known throughout Christendom, and to appoint public prayers and processions, in order to thank God for the happy event, and implore Him to perfect His work, and bring the proud barbarian nations also beneath the yoke of the Christian Faith. †

The success obtained by Eugenius was indeed immense, for, even if the hatred of the Greek to the Latin nations made the union continue to be rather one on paper than a living reality, yet it was the accomplishment of that which had long been deemed impossible; a Schism, before whose extent and danger even the Papal Schism seemed small, had been dogmatically healed, and the great boon of a reconciliation, which it was hoped would be world-wide,

* The plague only furnished a pretext for the removal of the Union Council to Florence. Frommann (25 *et seq.*) shows that Eugenius IV. desired the migration purely on financial grounds, Florence having most liberally provided the necessary resources, not, however, without some prospect of advantage and guarantee for repayment.

† See Raynaldus, ad an. 1439, N. 9, and Chmel., Mat., i., 2, 51-52. (Letter of the 7th July to Duke Frederick of Austria, beginning with the words: "Gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.") The Latin and Greek text of the Decree of Union, after the copy in the Laurentian Library, has been pub-

was due to the persecuted Pope.* It was difficult at that period to form an opinion as to the duration of the union, but there was a more or less general impression that the submission of the Greeks would tend to the exaltation of that Papal authority which the Council of Basle had set at naught.†

The dogmatical decision regarding the extent of the Papal power, embodied in the Union Decree of the Council of Florence, was of extreme importance to western Christendom, which had not yet recovered from the effects of the great Schism. An Œcumenical Council ‡ now pronounced the Pope to be the head, not merely of individual Churches, but of the Church Universal, to derive his power, not from the will of the faithful, but immediately from Christ, whose Vicar he is; and to be not only the Father, but also the Teacher, to whom all Christians owe submission.§ The publication of this decision, which has become the essential foundation of the theological development of the doctrine of the Primacy, was a mortal blow to the very root of the Schism.||

Apart from their dogmatic aspect, these negotiations with

lished with explanations by C. Milanesi in the *Giornale storico degli Archivi toscani* (Firenze, 1857), i., 196 *et seq.*

* Höfler, *Roman-Welt*, 208.

† Creighton, ii., 192-193.

‡ See Heinrich, ii., 413 *et seq.*

§ Hergenröther, ii., 1, 201; 111, 390 *et seq.* See *ibid.*, *Staat und Kirche*, 968 *et seq.*, and Hefele, vii., 741-761. The literature treating of the pretended falsification of some copies of the Union decree in the passage concerning the Primacy, is here brought forward and examined.

|| Lederer, *Torquemada*, 13. The Constitution "Moyses," published in September, 1439, by Eugenius IV., breathes a consciousness of increased power, and condemns the revolutionary proceedings of the Council of Basle in the strongest terms.

the Greeks hold an important place in the history of literature and civilization. The results of the new intellectual intercourse between East and West, between Greek and Latin culture, were immense, especially in the promotion of the study of the Greek language and the introduction of the Greek philosophy, both of which had hitherto been almost unknown to Western Christendom.

On the Roman Court the influence exercised was an abiding one, and tended to give the Humanist element a power even greater than that which it had already attained. Eugenius IV. required men who were able to translate Greek, and to hold personal interviews and disputations with the representatives of the Greek Church, and accordingly, although himself untouched by the spirit of the Renaissance, he was constrained to take a number of eminent Greek scholars, who were Humanists, into his service. These men were fully employed, to judge from Guarino's declaration that from the time of the arrival of the Greeks he had not enjoyed a quiet hour. The official interpreter in the disputations was Niccolò Sagundino of Negroponte, a man of business rather than a scholar.* It was during the progress of these long-drawn negotiations with the Greeks that Tommaso Parentucelli, one of the noblest representatives of the Christian Renaissance, gave those brilliant proofs of his knowledge of theological literature, which attracted the attention of the Pope and thus paved the way for his own subsequent elevation to the supreme dignity.†

The Greek Bessarion, and the Camaldolese monk, Ambrogio Traversari, the special favourite of Eugenius, whom we

* See Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, ii., 2nd ed., 118.

† Parentucelli likewise distinguished himself in the negotiations for union with the Armenians, Jacobites, and Ethiopians. See Mai, *Spicil.*, i., 30.

have already mentioned, took a yet more important part in these proceedings. To the latter belongs the honour of having drawn up the Act of Union in both languages; it is plain, however, from careful investigation that Bessarion's share in the composition of this document was considerable.*

Bessarion, a great man and a great scholar, has been justly regarded as the last Greek of note before the complete downfall of his nation.† He was born at Trebizond early in the fifteenth century, and was of humble origin. After studying for some time at Constantinople he entered the Basilian Order in 1423, and in the same year went to the Peloponesus and zealously applied himself to philosophy and mathematics under the guidance of Gemistos Plethon. His natural aversion to anything extreme and exclusive, either in conduct or in science, made the office of mediator and peacemaker peculiarly congenial, and gave him a special fitness for the management of the difficult negotiations regarding union. He passed rapidly through the different grades of ecclesiastical promotion until he became Archbishop of Nicæa, and as such accompanied the Greek Emperor to

* See *Studien und Forschungen über das Leben und die Zeit des Cardinals Bessarion, 1395-1472. Abhandlungen, Regesten und Collectaneen von Wolfgang von Goethe, i. Die Zeit des Concils von Florenz, 1.* Printed as MS. (Jena, 1871).

† Von Hase in *Ersch-Gruber, Encykl., Section 1, Vol. IX., p. 295.* Materials for a Biography of Bessarion have been well put together by Voigt (11, 2nd ed., 124, note). Raggi's *Commentario sulla vita del card. B.* (Roma, 1844), dedicated to Cardinal Mario Mattei, is, in my opinion, of no value. Vast's work (Paris, 1878) is far from satisfactory. I have not been able to get a sight of Sadov's *Monograph*, published in St. Petersburg, 1883 (see *Revue des quest. hist.*, 1884, Janv, p. 271). Regarding Bessarion's relations to Grottaferrata, see Rocchi, *La Badia di S. Maria di Grottaferrata* (Roma, 1884).

Italy. His moral worth and persuasive eloquence made a deep impression on all who saw him in Ferrara and Florence. After the happy conclusion of the union, Bessarion went for a short time to Greece, but soon returned to Italy, where he joined the Latin obedience, and on the 18th December, 1439, was raised to the purple, together with Archbishop Isidore.* He was now commonly known by the name of Nicenus, while Isidore was called Ruthenus. Bessarion's proceeding has been the subject of severe and most unjust censure. But this step seems amply accounted for both on personal and external grounds, if we regard it as a consequence of the Union of the Churches and the attendant negotiations, nor does it involve any change either of opinion or belief. Bessarion's subsequent bearing towards his former associates was uniformly noble and generous.† With a heart full of the ideal of that union which unfortunately was to prove so short-lived, he strove in his new country to promote the study and appreciation of Greek learning, and became its able Humanistic exponent.‡ He also studied Latin, and was zealous in his labours for the Church, for the cause of

* On this occasion no less than seventeen new Cardinals were created. Besides the two Greeks whom we have mentioned, there were five Italians (Joannes ex comitibus Taleacottii, Nicolaus de Acciapacio, Georgius Fliscus, Gerardus Landrianus, and Albertus de Albertis), four Frenchmen (Reginaldus de Chartres, Ludovicus de Lucemburgo, Joannes Juvenis and Guillelmus de Estouteville), a Spaniard (Joannes de Turrecremata), an Englishman (Joannes Kemp), a German (Petrus a Schaumberg), a Portuguese (Antonius Martini de Clavibus), a Pole (Sbigneus Olesnicus), and a Hungarian (Dionysius Zechus). See Ciaconius, ii., 900-919. Frizon, 483 *et seq.*

† Düx, in Aschbach's Kirchenlexikon, i., 698-699. See Weiss, Vor der Reformation, 101.

‡ Düx, *loc. cit*

learning and for his own unhappy nation. We shall have hereafter to speak of the many difficult missions which the Pope entrusted to Bessarion, as well as of his self-sacrificing efforts on behalf of his countrymen. As Reformer of the Basilian Order and Protector of the two great Mendicant Orders, the Greek Cardinal rendered the most valuable service to the Church. His ample income was nobly employed in the furtherance of learning, the acquisition of manuscripts and the maintenance of needy scholars. His Palace was a place of meeting for all the most distinguished Greek and Italian literary men, and the circle of Humanists whom he drew around him took the form of an academy, in which the philosophy of Plato and all other branches of learning and science were discussed in familiar conversation.* The Cardinal gave further practical proof of his hearty interest in the Renaissance by his translation into Latin of many Greek authors, by his splendid defence of Plato against the Aristotelian, George of Trebizond,† and by the establishment of a library unequalled in Italy for the number and value of its manuscripts; especially after the fall of Constantinople, the zeal of the collector was guided and

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 543. See Vast, 165 *et seq.*, 298 *et seq.* Hase (297) says: "Bessarion's power of gathering around him such men as Flavio Biondo, Filelfo, Poggio, L. Valla, Campano, Perotto, Dom. Calderino, Platina, etc., who accompanied him, after the classic manner, when he walked abroad, and spoke of him in their writings with peculiar esteem, although the opinions held by some amongst them differed widely from his own, is a proof of his social talent and of an amount of true culture beyond that which mere learning can bestow." Adinolfi, ii., 24, gives an account of Bessarion's house in Rome.

† "In calumniatorem Platonis" is the title of the Latin translation in four books (see Vast, 347). The Greek original, in three books, is preserved in the Vatican Library in Rome. See v. Hertling in der Literar. Rundschau, 1875, p. 91, N. 1.

stimulated by his patriotism. If his country was to be desolated by barbarians, he wished at least to rescue the intellectual works of the ancient Greeks from destruction, and accordingly made it his business to search diligently after rare books.* His appointment by the Pope in 1446 as Visitor of the Basilian Monasteries in Italy† was extremely favourable to the accomplishment of his purpose. By degrees he got together about nine hundred manuscripts, whose value he estimated at fifteen hundred ducats. Four years before his death he presented this library to the Republic of Venice, the ancient link between East and West. His motive for this magnanimous action was the consideration that, notwithstanding all his liberality, the library, while in his possession, could benefit but a limited number of readers, whereas in Venice its treasures would be open to all scholars.‡ The Philosopher Gemistos Plethon, Bessarion's master, ranks next after him among the Greeks who took part in the Union Council. The energies of this gifted but passionate man were, however, directed rather to the spread of the Platonic Philosophy than to the cause of union, and he left behind him abiding traces of his work in Italy. His burning words inflamed the soul of Cosmo de' Medici, and gave birth to his plan for

* Voigt, ii., 2nd. ed., 131.

† Bessarion also turned his new position to account by founding schools of learning.

‡ Geiger, *Renaissance*, 112, whose statement that Bessarion had spent 30,000 ducats on his library requires correction. Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 543 makes the same mistake. Works treating of the fate of Bessarion's Library (now included in the Marciana) are mentioned in Reumont, iii., 1, 511. See also Vast, 373 *et seq.* Gregorovius, however, was not acquainted with E. G. Vogel's essay: "Bessarion's Stiftung oder die Anfänge der St. Marcusbibliothek in Venedig," published in the *Serapeum* (1841), ii., 90 *et seq.*, 97 *et seq.*, 138 *et seq.*

the revival of this philosophy in Italy. Marsiglio Ficino, the man selected by Cosmo for the execution of his purpose, says in his translation of the works of Plotinos: "The great Cosmo, at the time when the Council assembled by Pope Eugenius IV. was sitting in Florence, was never weary of listening to the discourses of Plethon, who, like a second Plato, held disputations on the Platonic Philosophy. The eloquence of this man took such hold upon him and animated him with such enthusiasm, that he firmly resolved to found an Academy at the first favourable moment."*

Soon after the conclusion of the Council, Plethon returned to his home, happily without having imparted his heathen opinions to the Italians, whom he regarded as uncultivated barbarians.†

The union with the Greeks was soon followed by others, but unfortunately in most cases these were only caused by the pressure of necessity, and accordingly had no real stability. On the 22nd November, 1439, Eugenius IV. had the satisfaction of concluding a treaty with the Armenian Ambassadors for the union of their Church with that of Rome.‡ In 1443 union with a portion of the Jacobites followed.§ The movement among the Eastern Christians

* See Reumont, Lorenzo, i., 2nd ed., 402.

† "Plethon," Hertzberg informs us (ii., 493), "had in his heart completely abandoned Christianity. His ideal was a 'heathen form of worship tinged by neo-platonic theosophy,' his system was a 'precipitate' of neo-platonic theories, with a mystical and theurgical colouring." To the literature mentioned by Hertzberg may be added Fr. Schultze's monograph, *G. G. Pletho und seine reformatorischen Bestrebungen* (Jena, 1874), which shows 1450, not 1452, to have been the date of Plethon's death. See also Geiger, 109 *et seq.* Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 119 *et seq.* Norrenberg, ii., 22. Haffner, 680. Hettner, 173 *et seq.* Yriarte, 261 (regarding the grave in Rimini).

‡ See Bullar, v., 44-51, and Theiner, *Mon. Slavov.*, i., 381.

§ See Hefele, vii., 796 *et seq.* Pichler, ii., 493.

continued for the next few years. In the spring of 1442 the Council was removed from Florence to Rome, where it held two Sessions (30th September, 1444, and 7th August, 1445), principally occupied with the union of the Orientals. On the 7th August, 1445, Eugenius published a Bull giving thanks to God that, after the return of the Greeks, Armenians, and Jacobites, the Nestorians and Maronites had now also given ear to his admonitions, and had solemnly professed the immaculate Faith of the Roman Church. He declared that the Maronites and Chaldeans were no longer to be styled heretics, nor was the name of Nestorian to be applied to the latter body.* A year before the date of this Bull, King Stephen of Bosnia had entered the Catholic Church, and his example had been followed by his relations and by the most distinguished of the Bosnian magnates.† Before the end of the Pontificate of Eugenius IV. the East appeared to be almost entirely united to Rome. Unfortunately the union was more apparent than real, and was but partial; nevertheless the general success of these negotiations gave fresh support to the Papal power amid the enemies which beset it on every side.‡

Few Popes have done so much as Eugenius IV. did for the East, and although it soon became evident that most of the Greeks had no real desire for union, he persevered in

* Raynaldus, ad an. 1445, n. 21-22. Pichler, ii., 544-545. Regarding the Maronites see Kuntsmann, Tüb. theol. Quartalschr., 1845, p. 45 *et seq.*

† See Klaic, 370-372. Theiner, Mon. Slav., i., 388-389, and Balan, Chiesa Catt. e gli Slavi, 184, 237-239.

‡ Frommann, 22. A. Dillmann (Ueber die Regierung, insbesondere die Kirchenordnung des Königs Z. J. (Berlin, 1884), 69-70), and Pichler (ii., 505) show that King Zara Jacob of Ethiopia took no part in the attempts to bring about the union of his Church with that of Rome.

his efforts to stem the tide of Turkish encroachment, and to secure the duration of the Byzantine Empire.*

Lower Hungary as far as the Theiss, Sclavonia, and the whole of the district between the Save and the Drave, were devastated with fire and sword by the Turks in the spring of 1441. The Hungarian hero, John Hunyadi, who, in acknowledgment of his faithful services, had been created Duke of Transylvania and Count of Temesvar, happily for Christendom undertook the command in the southern frontier cities of the kingdom, and by his skill and energy successfully repelled repeated attacks of the Turks. The Pope meanwhile did all in his power to promote the war against the Infidels. He wrote touching letters to the western Princes, describing the sad position of the Christians in the East and promising many favours to those who should take part in the crusade. At the beginning of the year 1442 he published an Encyclical letter, in which, after mentioning his own poverty, he exhorted and required all archbishops, bishops, and abbots to pay a tithe from all their churches, monasteries, and benefices for the prosecution of the war against the Turks; he himself, he added, would give a good example to all Christendom in this matter, which concerned the welfare of the Church, and would devote the fifth part of the whole revenues of the Apostolic treasury to the equipment of the army and fleet.† He sent Cardinal Cesarini as legate to Hungary, to restore peace in that kingdom as speedily as possible; and also

* See Frommann, 189 *et seq.*, 204 *et seq.*, 208 *et seq.*, from *Cod. xvi., 85 of the Barberini Library in Rome. From 1441 to 1445 Eugenius IV. also laboured for the deliverance of Rhodes; see Raynaldus ad an. 1445 N. 18-19; Wadding, xi., 210 *et seq.*; Frommann, 208 *et seq.*, 211, and Delaville Le Roulx, Les Archives, &c., de l'ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem à Malte (Paris, 1883), 29.

† See Zinkeisen, i., 598 *et seq.*, 607.

desired Bishop Christopher of Corona to urge all the Princes, Lords, and Cities in the adjacent Provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, Lithuania and Albania to be united amongst themselves and to do battle with their common enemy. The preparation of a fleet was begun at Venice at a great cost.*

The effects of Cesarini's eloquence were soon visible in the pacification of Hungary and the preparations which were made for a great campaign against the Turks; unfortunately, however, the majority of the western Princes remained indifferent to the Pope's appeal. Poland and Wallachia alone responded by providing two auxiliary corps, composed of infantry and cavalry, and undertaking to pay them for half a year. The lower orders manifested the utmost enthusiasm for the defence of Christendom and hastened in great numbers to Hungary, and the Pope endeavoured to forward the enterprise by subsidies.†

In June, 1443, the crusading army went forth, headed by King Wladislaw and Hunyadi and accompanied by Cardinal Cesarini and George Brankowitsch, the fugitive King of Servia. The expedition began most prosperously; the army passed unopposed through Servia, defeated the Turks in a great battle at Nisch (3rd November), reached Sofia, crossed the mountain pass between the Balkan and the Ichtimaner Srêdna Gora at Mirkovo, and proceeded to Zlatica. Here its progress was arrested by the Janissaries and, as winter had set in, it was decided that it should then retreat, and resume the campaign in the following year.‡ The terrible defeat they had experienced in the year 1443,

* Guglielmotti, i., 163 *et seq.* Zinkeisen i., 608. Regarding Cesarini's Mission, see Palacky, iv., i, 126, and Theiner, Mon. Slav., i., 382-383.

† Zinkeisen, i., 610 *et seq.*, 657, note.

‡ Hertzberg, ii., 511. Zinkeisen, i., 611-621.

and the consequent insurrection of the Albanians under George Kastriota (Skanderbeg), combined perhaps with the tidings that a very warlike spirit was manifesting itself in the west, induced Sultan Murad III. to make proposals of peace to the Hungarians, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Cardinal Legate Cesarini, a ten years' truce was concluded at Szegedin, in virtue of which Wallachia continued in the possession of Hungary and Bulgaria in that of the Porte, while Serbia reverted to Brankowitsch. Neither of the contending powers were henceforth to cross the Danube.*

Before the conclusion of this peace, which politically was a great mistake, the crusading fleet had sailed for the Levant. This fleet had been brought together chiefly by the exertions of the Pope; the Venetian galleys were led by Luigi Loredano, while the command of the whole squadron was entrusted to the Apostolic Legate and Cardinal Francesco Condulmaro. The Turkish Ambassadors had hardly left Sofia when letters from the fleet arrived, urging the immediate advance of the army, inasmuch as Sultan Murad, with all his forces, had retired into Asia, and Europe was completely free from Turkish troops. The fleet expected to be able to hinder the return of the enemy from Asia, and it seemed as if the moment had come when the whole country might be subjugated by a small body of troops, and the infidels driven back to their own land. The King of Hungary was reminded of his promises to the Princes of Christendom, and the efforts which they on their side had made to fulfil their engagements.†

The eloquence of Cesarini induced the Hungarians to

* Zinkeisen, i., 626.

† Guglielmotti, ii., 163. Zinkeisen, i., 658 671.

break the truce which had just been concluded.* The consequences were most disastrous, for the Sultan set out for Europe with a great army, and the Christian fleet was unable to hinder him from crossing the Hellespont.† The assistance which the Hungarians had expected from several quarters, especially from Albania, failed to arrive, and their consternation was extreme. With a force of only thirty thousand men they nevertheless advanced, and in the beginning of November reached the shores of the Black Sea. Here the Sultan with his army met them, and on the 10th of November the battle of Varna resulted in the complete discomfiture of the Christians. King Wladislaw fell on the battle-field, and Cardinal Cesarini was murdered in his flight.

While these bloody wars were going on in the east of Europe, the struggle between the Pope and the Council continued in the west. The success obtained by Eugenius IV. at Florence had exasperated the Assembly at Basle, which now proceeded to desperate measures. The suspension of Pope Eugenius IV., pronounced on the 24th January, 1438, was, at the instigation of the Cardinal of Arles, followed, on the 25th June, 1439, by a formal sentence of deposition, and he was declared to be a heretic, on account of his persistent disobedience to the Council. The ambitious Duke Amadeus of Savoy was elected Anti-

* See Raynaldus, ad an. 1444, N. 5. Zinkeisen, i., 671 *et seq.* Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 338. According to Palacky (iv., 1, 126), "not only Cesarini, but also Eugenius IV., and almost all the neighbouring nations of Christendom, considered the moment favourable for the complete expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and opposed the peace." Regarding Varna, see Köhler, *die Schlachten bei Nikopolis und Varna* (Breslau, 1882).

† Genoese vessels were supposed to have assisted the Turks in their passage. See Guglielmotti, ii., 165. Zinkeisen, ii., 685-686. Cipolla, 516.

Pope on the 5th November, 1439, by one Cardinal and eleven Bishops,* and took the name of Felix V.

Instead then of promoting reform the Synod of Basle had brought about a new Schism. This was the necessary consequence of the attempt to change the monarchical constitution of the Church. This Anti-Pope, the last whose name appears in the History of the Papacy, failed to attain any considerable importance, although the Basle Assembly gave him a power of levying annates, such as the Roman Court had never claimed.

The guilt of the new Schism was visited on its authors. The sympathy of both princes and people was transferred from the schismatics at Basle to Eugenius. Many even who had little in common with the Pope now espoused his cause from a horror of Radicalism and disunion.† From this moment the spiritual power of the Synod steadily declined. Felix V. did immense injury to its adherents. Personally no one trusted him, and his rapacity alienated men's minds from him and from his party.‡

The attitude now assumed by the Germans and French was a very peculiar one; they recognized the Synod in

* Hefele, vii., 662 *et seq.*, 779, 785. As to the previous life of Felix V., see Sickel in the *Sitzungsberichten der Wiener Akad.*, hist. Kl., xx., 186 *et seq.* *Revue des quest. hist.* (1866), i., 192 203. Only seven Bishops were present at the "deposition" of Eugenius IV. "So shameless a perversion and abuse of natural order and positive justice had never yet been known in the Church," says Döllinger (ii., 1, 339). I found an original copy of the Bull of deposition (on parchment with a leaden seal) in Cod. K., ii., f. 427 of the Vallicellana Library in Rome.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 102.

‡ Brockhaus, 33 *et seq.*, 39 *et seq.*, 79. See Hagen, iii., 453. The *Bullarium of Felix V. is preserved in the Archives of Genoa. There is a copy in eight volumes in the State Archives at Turin; see *Nachrichten d. hist. Commiss.*, ii., 105; and Christophe, i., 350.

its decrees of reform, which fell in with their wishes, but at the same time they acknowledged the authority of the "deposed" Pope. Both nations shrank from a Schism, but neither was disposed to give up the apparent advantages gained by the Council.

Very few princes really acknowledged Felix V. Duke Albert of Bavaria-Munich; one of the first to take this step, was influenced by his brother Dr. Johann Grünwalder, a natural son of Duke John. He was made a Cardinal by Felix V., and endeavoured to manifest his gratitude by writing in favour of the Anti-Pope and against neutrality.*

Duke Albert of Austria, and Stephen, Count Palatine of Simmern and Zweibrücken, with the Dukes of Savoy and Milan also espoused the cause of Felix.†

For a long time the Basle Schismatics counted on the support of King Alfonso of Aragon. This prince had quarrelled with Eugenius, because he favoured the claim of his rival, René, Count of Anjou, to the crown of Naples. Alfonso, however, did not formally acknowledge the Anti-Pope, and, while his ambassadors treated simultaneously with Eugenius IV. and Felix V., watched the course of events, ready to declare himself for whichever of the two might offer him the largest concessions.‡ In 1442 he at

* For further details regarding Grünwalder, who died Bishop of Freising on the 2nd December, 1452, see Allg. Deutsche Biographie, x., 60; Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 310 *et seq.*, and E. Geiss, Gesch. der Stadtpfarrei St. Peter in München (1868), 30-50. I found the *Tractatus contra neutralitatem, editus per dominum Jo. Grimwalt card. tit. S. Martini in montibus, in Cod. 224, f. 100a-108b in the Library of the Monastery at Einsiedeln. Neither Geiss nor Voigt was acquainted with this Treatise.

† Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 71) is mistaken in supposing that Visconti held aloof from Felix V.; see Magenta, i., 331 *et seq.*, and Osio, iii., N. 226.

‡ Regarding the relations of Eugenius IV. to Alfonso, see K. Haebler in d. Zeitschr. für allg. Gesch. (1884), i., 831 *et seq.*

length gained a complete victory over René, and took possession of Naples (June 12, 1442).

This decided success compelled Eugenius IV., whose own dominions were harassed by the warlike and insatiable Condottiere, Francesco Sforza,* to accede to all the conditions proposed by Alonso de Borja, Bishop of Valencia, on behalf of the crafty Alfonso, who constantly threatened to acknowledge the Anti-Pope. Accordingly a treaty was concluded by Cardinal Scarampo with Alfonso, on the 14th of June, 1443, at Terracina, and confirmed by the Pope on the 6th of July. The King hereby engaged to recognize Eugenius IV. as the lawful Pope, to abstain from any interference with the liberties of the Church, to provide ships for the war with the Turks, and to furnish five thousand men for the expulsion of Francesco Sforza from the March of Ancona. The Pope, on his side, confirmed the King's adoption by Joanna II. of Naples, granted him investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and the possession for life, in return for an insignificant tribute, of the cities of Benevento

Alfonso desired his subjects to render no obedience either to the Papal Bulls or the Decrees of the Council; he wished to maintain a strict neutrality. See his Decree of 1442, in V. de la Fuente, 577-578.

* Regarding the position of the Pope at this time, see Borgia, Benevento, iii., 363 *et seq.* The **Instructio præclari militis domini Thomæ de Reate ituri ad præsentiam summi pontificis pape Felicis quinti*, etc., shows that Francesco Sforza endeavoured to sell his services to the Anti-Pope. The document bears date 1443, April 1. There is a copy in the State Archives at Turin (Milanese, Mazzo, ii., N. 9). On the 3rd of August, 1442, Sforza had been declared a rebel; see Raynaldus, ad an. 1442, N. 11. On the 2nd of September, 1443, an order was sent to Ancona, forbidding the city to receive Sforza or give him provisions, and requiring it to return to its obedience to the Church. I found the document relating to this matter, d.d. Senis sub anulo nostro secreto die ii. Septemb. 1443, in the City Archives at Ancona (Lib. croc. parv. f. 2).

and Terracina, in the Papal territory. Other considerable privileges were also bestowed on the King, and subsequently (July 15, 1444) the Pope recognized the right of succession of his natural son, Ferrante. The skilful diplomacy of Alonso de Borja was rewarded by his elevation to the purple (May 2, 1444).*

The Pope's position was completely altered by this treaty, which secured to him predominance in Italian affairs and superiority over the Council of Basle.† Alfonso at once recalled his subjects from that Assembly, which hereby lost some of its most important members, and amongst them the learned and influential Archbishop Tudeschi of Palermo, whom Felix V. had made a Cardinal.‡ The Duke of Milan, whose prelates had already been required to leave Basle, now espoused the cause of Eugenius.

There was now no obstacle in the way of the Pope's return to his true capital. The time of trial was over, and, after an exile of nearly ten years, on the 28th September, 1443, Eugenius victoriously re-entered Rome.

He was joyfully welcomed by the people, who had long since perceived what a wilderness Rome without the Pope must become.§ It had indeed fallen into a state of ruin and decay almost equal to that in which Martin V. had found it in 1420. Its inhabitants, wearing cloaks and heavy boots, appeared to strangers like the cowherds of the

* Raynaldus, ad an. 1443, N. 1-10; 1444, N. 21. Borgia, Benevento, iii., 368 *et seq.* Osio, iii., 288-289. Sentis, "Monarchia Sicula" (Freiburg, 1869), 95. The Codex in the Corsini Library in Rome here cited, containing f. 417 *et seq.*, **"De regno Siciliae . . . documenta varia ex autographis regestis,"* now bears the number: 34, C. 14.

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 84.

‡ Hefele, vii., 808. See Fiala, 378.

§ See Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 58.

Campagna.* The ancient monuments were being burned for lime, and the marble and precious stones stolen from the churches. Cows, sheep, and goats wandered about the narrow, unpaved streets. In the Vatican quarter the wolves ventured by night into the cemetery near St. Peter's and dragged the corpses from their graves.† The Church of San Stefano was roofless, and those of San Pancrazio and Sta. Maria in Dominica were ready to fall.‡

Even during his absence, the Pope had taken part in the government of the City, and on his return he at once began the work of restoration, in which he was ably seconded by Cardinal Scarampo.§

About this time Eugenius had the satisfaction of seeing Scotland abandon the Synod of Basle. On the 4th November, 1443, the Parliament assented to the decree of the Provincial Council, rejecting Felix V. and unconditionally acknowledging the authority of Eugenius IV.|| The partisans of the Schism were severely punished, and thus the dissensions which the new Schism had aroused in that

* See the evidence given by Reumont, iii., 1, 23.

† “Cum olim ipso campo clauso non existente corpora fidelium, quæ humabantur in cimiterio dicti campi, sæpenumero reperta fuissent a lupis exhumata nec essent qui taliter exhumata iterum sepelirent aut dicti campi custodiam haberent, tempore fel. reg. Eugenii papæ IV. præd. nostri quondam Fredericus Alamanus . . . quandam domunculam in ipso campo propriis sumptibus construxit et omnia bona sua in usum et fabricam dicti campi dedicavit.” *Brief of Paul II., addressed to “Dominic. Ep. Brixien. nostro in spiritualibus in urbe vicario et dil. fil. Georgio de Cesarinis canon. basil. princ. Apostolor. de urbe,” d.d. Romæ ap. S. Marcum, 1466, August. 24, in *Liber primus scripturar. Archiconfraternit. b. Mariæ Campi Sancti. Archives of the Campo Santo al Vaticano.

‡ See Piper, *Einleitung*, 668.

§ Müntz, i., 36.

|| Acts of Parliam. of Scotl., ii., 33. Bellesheim, i., 292-293.

country, and of which Walter Bower has left us a striking picture, were healed.* The Florentines and Venetians, formerly the political friends and supporters of Eugenius, were greatly irritated by his unlooked-for change in regard to the Neapolitan question, and now became his opponents. From vindictive motives they took part with Francesco Sforza, who, after a brief period of reconciliation, was again in open conflict with the Pope. The struggle with the crafty Condottiere continued throughout the rest of Eugenius' pontificate, but at last he was victorious, and a few days before his death, had the satisfaction of knowing that all the March of Ancona, with the exception of the town of Jesi, had been wrested from his enemy.†

The Pope also gained a complete victory over the Schismatics in Basle; the defection of the powerful Alfonso had inflicted a serious blow on the Assembly, and a death-like torpor soon crept over it. No more public sittings were held, and it only dealt with matters of secondary importance, such as disputes about benefices.‡

It had long been evident that the Synod could by no

* *Scotichronic*, l., xvi., c. 6: "Per quos in ecclesia Dei maxima scandala, et in diversis, maxime in Scotia, auferunt dissidia, dum alter ab altero dissidet, dum regnum et sacerdotium dissentit, dum alter alterum excommunicat, alter alterius excommunicationem, aut ex causa, aut e tempore, præiudicio contemnit, dum alter in alterum excommunicandi auctoritate magis forte ex suo libito quam ex iustitiæ respectu, potitur, auctoritas illius, qui dedit potestatem ligandi atque solvendi, omnino despicitur."

† *Sugenheim*, 328 *et seq.*

‡ *Hefele*, vii., 809. *Palacky*, iv., 1, 129. The forty-fifth and last solemn Session took place at Basle on the 16th May, 1443, and it was then decided, that after the lapse of three years a new Council should be held at Lyons. The idea of transferring the Synod to the latter City had already been broached in the spring of 1436; see the information gathered from the Lyons Archives by J. Vaesens in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, xxx., 561-568.

means reckon on the unconditional support of the two principal powers of Western Christendom, France and Germany. We have already mentioned the peculiar position which these nations had occupied since the year 1438. After the Basle Synod had, on the 24th January, 1438, pronounced a sentence of suspension against Eugenius IV., neither Germans nor French had shown the slightest inclination to take part in a proceeding which must necessarily have thrown Christendom back into a deplorable state of confusion. But, on the other hand, they were not disposed completely to give up the Council, or its so-called decrees of reform. Accordingly, while adhering to Eugenius IV. as the lawful Head of the Church, they adopted a portion of these decrees. In France this was done by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (7th July, 1438), which almost entirely deprived the Pope of any influence in the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, and reasserted the supremacy of the Council over the Papacy.*

From March, 1438, Germany also had taken up a similar semi-schismatical position, which threatened serious danger to the Papacy. In the interval between the death of Sigismund and the election of Albert II., the German Electors, assembled at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, had declared their neutrality, that is to say, their determination for the time being, to hold aloof from the contest, and neither to take part with the Pope nor the Council. They had further agreed, that, within the ensuing six months, they would, together with the future king, deliberate on the means of terminating the strife, and that, in the meantime,

* *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race* par M. de Vilevault (Paris, 1782), xiii., 267-291. See Hefele, vii., 764; Guettée, *Hist. de l'Eglise de France* (Lyon, 1851), vii., 405-435; R. Bauer in the *Laacher Stimmen* (1872), iii., 110 *et seq.*, and H. Jervis, *Hist. of the Church of France* (London, 1872,) i., 97.

they would maintain the regular jurisdiction in their dioceses and territories.*

This so-called neutrality of the Holy Roman Empire, which was by no means free from an anti-papal bias,† was, a year later, asserted at the Diet of Mayence. It, however, accepted, with certain restrictions and additions agreeable to the German princes, a number of decrees depriving the Pope of his essential rights (26th March, 1439).‡

The Mayence declaration differed widely from the step which had been taken in France, and fundamentally from the Pragmatic sanction of Bourges.§ At Mayence a mere declaration had been made, the acceptance of the Basle Decrees, but in France, an administrative ordinance had been issued. The Ambassadors of King Charles had indeed entered into negotiations at Basle, in order to obtain the approval of the Council for the Pragmatic sanction, but even before that had been granted, Decrees with additions were everywhere promulgated, and courts and officials were instructed to see to their execution, to decide any controversies which might arise regarding them, to protect ecclesiastics and laymen in the enjoyment of the benefits

* Müller, Reichstagstheatrum unter K. Friedrich v. (Jena, 1713), 31. Binterim, vii., 166. Pückert, 55 *et seq.*, 64 *et seq.*, 73 *et seq.*, 86 *et seq.* The history of the Schism shows that the idea of neutrality was not, as Voigt (i., 154) seems to suppose, a novelty. See also Birck, 13 *et seq.*

† Hagen, Deutsch. Gesch., iii., 457.

‡ See Gieseler, ii., 4, 83; Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 161, and Birck, 17; the last author observes: "The principal aim of these Basle Decrees was the gratification of the ambition of the Bishops, the bestowal of greater privileges upon them and the diminution of the rights of the Pope. Resistance to Papal authority was at this time a mere cover for selfish aims, a time-serving shield, behind which self-interest, lawlessness, and the craving for yet greater independence, sought and found convenient shelter."

§ Pückert's work (97 *et seq.*) has the great merit of putting this matter in a clear light.

they conferred, and to inflict exemplary punishments on those who should oppose them. Such executive and penal provisions, although essential to the existence of a law, have no place in the Mayence Document, and it is a great inaccuracy to apply to it the name of a "Pragmatic Sanction." The Germans also deferred making any effort to obtain the approval of the Council, which had already been asked by and granted to the French.

In the latter half of the year 1439, German neutrality took a more definite form, but it never proved to be in any way a basis for the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs. This was primarily the fault of the electors, who, instead of enforcing the observance of the policy they had adopted, both violated it themselves and suffered their subjects and the members of their families to do the same.* Accordingly the proclamation which had been made with a view of preserving the Holy Roman Empire from division and confusion was thoroughly ineffectual. Factions were formed even among the Germans. In many cases, near neighbours, and even the Bishop and Chapter of the same Diocese, took different sides in the conflict between the Pope and his opponents. Several sees were claimed by two rival Bishops, and from the same pulpit discourses were frequently heard at one time against Eugenius, and at another against the partisans of the Council.†

* Pückert, 140.

† Hefele, vii., 777. Pückert, 119 *et seq.*, 138 *et seq.* The words of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini regarding neutrality are well known. "It will," he wrote to Cardinal Cesarini, "be difficult to do away with it because it is profitable to many. This new bait of neutrality is attractive, because anyone who has rightly or wrongly assumed possession of anything cannot be deprived of it, and because the Ordinaries can bestow benefices according to their pleasure. Believe me, it is not easy to snatch the prey out of the jaws of the wolf."

Repeated efforts were naturally made by each of the contending powers to put an end to the neutrality. The diplomatic struggles which ensued, ultimately resulted in the victory of Eugenius, who succeeded in winning over Caspar Schlick, the powerful Chancellor of King Frederick III., and finally the King himself.*

Having secured the adhesion of the head of the Empire, the Pope, who had a powerful supporter in Philip of Burgundy, thought that the time had come to strike a decisive blow in Germany, and so to put an end to all further hesitations. He accordingly issued a Bull, deposing the Archbishop-Electors of Cologne and Treves, who were the principal partisans of the Synod in the Empire, and bestowed their dignities on relations of the Duke of Burgundy.† But this proceeding, which was hasty, and, from a political point of view, imprudent,‡ was violently opposed by the German Electors. In March, 1446, they assembled at Frankfort-on-the-Maine and decided to call upon Eugenius to acknowledge the Decrees of Constance and Basle regarding the Supremacy of Councils, to summon one to meet in

* Frederick III.'s recognition of Eugenius was rewarded by :
 1. The right to the first prayers, to a tithe from all ecclesiastical benefices in Germany, and to the patronage of a hundred benefices in the hereditary estates of Austria. 2. The right for life to make presentations, in case of vacancy, to the Bishopricks of Trent, Brixen, Coire, Gurk, Trieste, and Pedena. 3. The right for himself and his successors to propose to the Holy See fitting persons for the visitation of the monasteries in his hereditary States, and also a certain sum of money. See Chmel, *Materialen*, i., 2, 191 *et seq.*, and *Gesch. Friedrich IV.*, ii., 38 *et seq.* Voigt., *Enea Silvio*, i., 346 *et seq.*, 355 *et seq.* Pückert, 247 *et seq.*

† Pückert, 241 *et seq.*

‡ The great mistake of Eugenius was to suppose the power of a German Monarch to be like that of the French King, sufficient to impose his will on all the Princes of his realm. Chmel, *Friedrich IV.*, ii., 388. See also Dux, i., 264

a German City within the next thirteen months, to revoke all recent measures incompatible with neutrality, and unconditionally to ratify the decisions of the Council of Basle, accepted by the Germans in 1439. In case of the failure of Eugenius to comply with their demands, the Electors threatened to recognize the authority of the Synod.* A deputation, whose leading spirit was Gregory Heimburg, Syndic of Nuremberg, was despatched to Rome to make the desires of the Electors known to the Pope. This man, affecting what he wished to pass off as German honesty and plain spokenness, was unbearably insolent and rude. In a work, written about this time, he stirred up his countrymen to join the Schism and shake off the Papal yoke.†

The answer returned by Pope Eugenius to the Electors was of an evasive character. He referred the decision of the matter to the Diet of the Empire, and adhered to his resolution regarding the deposition of the two Archbishops. The Diet had been summoned to meet at Frankfort on the 1st September, 1446, and the Bishops Tommaso Parentucelli of Bologna, and Jean of Liège, together with Juan de Carvajal and Nicholas of Cusa appeared there as Ambassadors from Rome, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini having in the meantime convinced the Pope of the necessity of concession. The Cardinal of Arles attended on behalf of the Basle party.

* Pückert, 256 *et seq.* Hefele, vii., 816 *et seq.* The alternative of joining the party of the Synod was, however, to be provisionally kept from the knowledge of the Pope. Pückert, 259.

† Döllinger (Lehrbuch, ii., 1, 334). See also the weak Monograph of Brockhaus (Leipzig, 1861), Ullmann, Reformatoren, i., 212 *et seq.*; K. Hagen, Zur politischen Gesch. Deutschlands (Stuttgart, 1842); Scharpff, 142 *et seq.*, and Backmann in d. Allg. Deutsch. Biographie, xi., 327-330.

The violent anti-papal feeling which had already widely gained ground in Germany found open expression in the Imperial Diet. The position of Eugenius and even the authority of the head of the Empire seemed at the outset to be seriously endangered, for the Electors intended, in the event of the Pope's non-compliance with their demands, to declare themselves in favour of the Council of Basle, independently of the King, or even in antagonism to him.* The Cardinal of Arles deemed the victory of his party almost a certainty, when suddenly a surprising change took place to the great advantage of Eugenius. The principal author of this change was Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Secretary in the Chancery of King Frederick III., the very man who, but a year before, had, in conjunction with Schlick and Carvajal, won his royal master to the side of the Pope.

Among the notable figures of the Renaissance age, Æneas Sylvius is certainly one of the most brilliant and one of those best known to us.† A most prolific author and indefatigable letter-writer, he has left to posterity the means of closely following every phase of his life.‡

He was born on the 18th October, 1405, at Corsigniano, near Siena. His family belonged to the ancient nobility

* Hefele, vii., 821 *et seq.* For an account of the Frankfort Diet see Chmel, Friedrich IV., II, 392-398; Pückert, 276-296; Rossmann, Betrachtungen, 387-393, and Janssen, Reichs-correspondenz, ii., 90-95.

† Reumont, from the *Gesch. Aachens im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, in the *Zeitschr. des Aachener Gesch.-Vereins* (1882), iv., 170.

‡ The learned work of Voigt is founded on these materials and on almost all others that have come under our notice, but is unfortunately disfigured by the "extreme harshness" of his judgment; see Reumont, iii., I, 491; Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 215; Vahlen in d. *Sitzungsberichten, der Wiener Akad., hist. Kl.*, lxi., 371, and Müntz, *Précurseurs*, 104.

of that city, but had fallen into poverty, and accordingly his youth was passed amid privations. At an early age he went to the University of Siena to study law, for which, however, he had but little taste, while the classical literature fascinated him. Cicero, Livy, and Virgil were his favourite authors. He scarcely allowed himself time for food or sleep, but pored day and night over these books which he had borrowed from friends. To avoid putting them to inconvenience, he copied out the most celebrated works, and made extracts from others.* After a time, he went to Florence to prosecute his studies and became the disciple of Filelfo.

When he had spent two years in Florence, he was induced by his relations to return to Siena and attend lectures on jurisprudence, the only result of which, however, was an increased aversion for lawyers. In his twenty-seventh year his talents attracted the attention of Cardinal Capranica, who was passing through Siena on his way to Basle, and he became his secretary. The circle into which he was introduced at Basle, in the spring of 1432, was one most unfriendly to Pope Eugenius IV., and this circumstance had much influence on his after-life. Capranica, who was destitute of fortune, was soon reconciled to Pope Eugenius IV.,† and Æneas Sylvius passed

* Voigt, i., 12.

† The reconciliation between Eugenius IV. and Capranica took place on the 30th of April, 1434. The conditions were most favourable to Capranica, whose dignity was confirmed; see the Document in Catalanus, 202 *et seq.*; also p. 212 *et seq.*: Transsumptum privilegii D. N. Eugenii restituentis et reintegrantis Rev. D. Card. Firmanum ad omnes dignitates. The relations between them were again disturbed by Capranica's courageous protest against the elevation of Vitelleschi, but this was a passing cloud. Eugenius IV. knew how to value the grand qualities of Capranica, and repeatedly took him into his counsels.

from his service into that of Bishop Nicodemus of Freising Bishop Bartolomeo of Novara, and finally of Cardinal Albergati. The period of his connection with the latter, although comparatively short, was one which tended greatly to polish and to direct his brilliant intellect,* and also brought him into contact with the noble Tommaso Parentucelli, afterwards Pope Nicholas V. He accompanied Albergati on several journeys, and was sent by him, in 1438, on a secret mission to Scotland. On his return from this dangerous expedition, he no longer found his patron at Basle, and, instead of rejoining him, determined to remain there, and was soon drawn into the violent agitation against Eugenius IV.

His happy nature, his talents, and his Humanistic culture soon won for him many friends among the members of the Council, and his eloquence attracted general attention. He was employed by the Council as Scriptor, Abbreviator, and Chief Abbreviator, was a member of the commission of dogma, and took part in several embassies. He viewed the conflict between the Pope and the Council with the indifference of an adherent of the heathen Renaissance, but used his pen against Eugenius IV.

His happiest hours were spent in Basle, in a little circle of friends, like himself, of studious tastes and of lax morality. It is impossible to say how far this atmosphere of heathen Renaissance was responsible for his opposition to the lawful Pope, but there can be no doubt that it exercised a considerable influence over him,† and we have positive proof that his own moral life was deeply tainted by the corruption which surrounded him, and that he even gloried in his errors with the shamelessness of a Boccaccio.‡

* Reumont, *Aus der Gesch. Aachens*, *loc. cit.*

† Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 217.

‡ See especially the notorious and much misused letter to his father, in which he begs him to receive a little son whom a

Æneas was not, it must be observed, at this time an ecclesiastic, and, indeed, as he openly declared in his letters, had no intention of entering a state whose duties are so serious.* In these same letters, the great questions of Church policy which then agitated society are treated with much levity.

When the Synod of Basle called a new Schism into existence, he took part in it, and even entered the service of the Anti-Pope, Felix V. But his keen understanding soon perceived that the position which the Synod had assumed was an untenable one, and he consequently became disgusted with his appointment, and eagerly seized the first opportunity of honourably escaping from a situation which had become intolerable. The opportunity occurred in the year 1442, when he accompanied the Ambassadors of the Council to the Diet of Frankfort. By the intervention of Bishop Sylvester of Chiemsee he was presented to King Frederick III., who offered him a place in the Royal Chancery. The offer was joyfully accepted, and his connection with Felix V. came to an end. When Frederick III. passed through Basle on the 11th November, 1442, on the occasion of his coronation, Æneas joined his suite and went with him to Austria.†

This step brought down upon him a torrent of abuse. Bretonne woman had borne him (epist. 15). See on this matter Janssen, *An meine Kritiker*, 141 *et seq.*, and Rohrbacher-Knöpfner, 217. Another illegitimate child of Æneas' died early (Voigt, i., 289). The little account then made of faults of this kind is well known; in princely families of Italy the succession of illegitimate children was often permitted, and marriage and its rights were widely trampled under foot (see Burckhardt, *Cultur*, ii., 3rd ed., 210 *et seq.*).

* In 1444 he confessed to one of his friends that he shrank from entering the ecclesiastical state: "Timeo enim continentiam."

† He had already visited this country in 1438; see Bayer, 8.

The Historian of the city of Rome, however, judges it with his accustomed calmness and moderation. "A change of party," he writes, "whatever be the circumstances under which it takes place, always provokes detraction, and a man who had written so much and had been so unreserved in regard to his own personal feelings and the events of his private life, must necessarily have laid himself, in many ways, open to those who were ready to take hold of every word, even in his most confidential letters, that would swell the list of his sins. His character was by no means perfect. The versatility of his intellect must of itself have proved a danger, even if, with his poverty, his ambition, and his consciousness of talent, he had not been cast into a whirlpool which carried away many stronger natures. His subsequent confession was, whatever may be said against it, made in all good faith. He was not influenced by mere personal considerations, when, in the year 1442, he gave up his position in the service of Felix V. and accepted that offered to him in the Royal Chancery. For the moment indeed he gained nothing by so doing, and later he might, like the Anti-Pope and others, have made advantageous terms with Rome."*

Time worked a great change, not only in the political and ecclesiastical opinions, but also in the moral character of Æneas: old age seems to have come upon him prematurely, and a serious view of life took the place of his former levity. For a long time he hesitated about entering the priesthood, but in 1445 he resolved on the step, and actually took it in the following year. On the 8th March, 1446, he wrote in the following terms to a friend: "He must be a miserable and graceless man who does not at last return to his better self, enter into his own heart, and amend his life: who does not consider what will come in the other world

* Reumont, iii., 1, 132-133.

after this. Ah! John, I have done enough and too much evil! I have come to myself; oh, may it not be too late!" In the month in which these words were written he was ordained priest at Vienna.*

Æneas had formally made his peace with Pope Eugenius a year before his ordination. The Chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, had at that time sent him to Rome to confer with the Pope regarding the holding of a Council at a fresh place. Regardless of the warnings of those around him, he went in the fullest confidence to the Eternal City, and was very well received there. He could not, however, be admitted to an audience, until he had been absolved from the censures incurred as an adherent of the Synod and an official of the Anti-Pope, and he felt a certain embarrassment as to meeting Eugenius IV., whom he had at Basle so vehemently opposed. Accordingly, before fulfilling his mission, he wrote an apology which is a masterpiece of style. It has been described as the address of a vanquished king to his captor.†

"Most Holy Father," he says, "before discharging the King's commissions, I will speak a little of myself. I am aware that much has been brought to your ears regarding me, which is neither good nor worthy of repetition. And those who have laid accusations against me before you have not spoken falsely. Yes, I have, during all the time I was at Basle, spoken, written, and done many things—I deny

* Voigt, i., 438 *et seq.*; see 351.

† Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 218. Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 156) observes in reference to this composition: "Never, except in ancient Athens, did the goddess of persuasion exercise such power over men as in the time of the Renaissance. Piccolomini disarmed Eugenius, confessed his errors at Basle in beautiful language, and then openly went over to the side of the Pope, who thoroughly understood his value and made him his secretary."

nothing. But my intention was not so much to injure you, as to serve God's Church. I erred, who would deny it? but I erred in company with men of no small importance. I followed Giuliano, the Cardinal of Sant. Angelo, Niccolò, the Archbishop of Palermo, Ludovico Pontano, the notary of Your See. These are held to be the eyes of justice, the teachers of truth. What shall I say of the Universities and of the other Schools, the majority of which were adverse to You? Who would not have erred with such men! But when I perceived the error of the people of Basle, then also, I confess it, I did not at once hasten to You as did the greater number. I rather dreaded rushing from one error into another, for he often falls into Scylla who would avoid Charybdis, and so I joined those who were considered neutral. I would not pass from one extreme to another without consideration and without delay. For three years I remained thus with the King. But the more I heard of the disputes between the Synod of Basle and Your Legate, the less doubt remained on my mind that truth was with You. I, therefore, willingly obeyed, when the King wished by my intervention to open for himself a way to Your goodness, for I hope thus to be able to return to Your favour. Now I stand before You, and inasmuch as I have sinned in ignorance, I beg You to forgive me."

Eugenius answered, "We know that you have sinned, together with many, but it is Our duty to pardon him who confesses his error: Holy Mother Church is inexorable to one who denies his fault, but never refuses absolution to the penitent. You have now returned to the truth. Beware of ever again forsaking it, and seek Divine Grace by good works! Your position is one in which you can defend the truth and serve the Church."

Æneas Sylvius did not disappoint the expectations of the Pope, for he succeeded in breaking up the League of

Electors, which was a danger alike to the Pope and the King of the Romans. He privately persuaded the Elector of Mayence, the representative of the Elector of Saxony and two Bishops to separate themselves from the Confederacy and join Frederick III.* On the 22nd September, these electors and bishops united with the Deputies of the King of the Romans in a secret declaration that the Pope's answer was a sufficient basis for the restoration of peace to the Church, and mutually bound themselves to hold fast to this opinion. On the 5th October, strengthened by the addition of fresh adherents, they held a second consultation, preparatory to the recognition of Eugenius.† On the 11th October, the Imperial Diet was prorogued, a measure which, as usual, merely concealed but did not heal the existing disunion. Many more bishops and princes were won over by the unwearied efforts of King Frederick and the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, so that at the end of 1446, messengers started for Rome from all parts of Germany; sixty met at Siena and travelled together by Baccano to the Eternal City.‡

On the 7th January, 1447, John of Lysura, representing the Elector of Mayence, Chancellor Sesselmann, representing the Elector of Brandenburg, and Æneas Sylvius and Procopius von Rabstein, as Delegates from the King of the Romans, arrived in Rome, and were very honourably

* It is well known that Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Hist. Frid., iii., 128 *et seq.*, Comment. ed. Fea, 98), openly asserts that he had gained over the confidential Counsellors of the Elector of Mayence by a bribe (2000fl.) Pückert in his work of electoral neutrality (281-284) treats the story of bribery as a fable, but his arguments against it are not conclusive; see Hefele, vii., 827, and B. Bayer, 62 *et seq.*

† Pückert, 280 *et seq.*, 294.

‡ See Æneas Sylvius' report of the Embassy in Muratori, iii., 2, 880 (also in Baluze, Misc., vii., 525 *et seq.*, and Koch, 314 *et seq.*)

received. The Pope at once granted them a solemn audience, and Æneas Sylvius brought forward the claims of the Germans in so eloquent and able a manner, that all who heard him praised his power and his prudence, and foretold for him a brilliant future.* "We come," he said, "to bring peace, and the German princes desire peace, but they also make certain demands, and unless these demands are granted, wounds cannot be healed, nor peace attained. The first is that a General Council, the time and place of which are still to be decided, shall be summoned. The second, that You in writing confirm that acknowledgment of the authority and pre-eminence of General Councils representing the Church Militant, which has been made by Your Ambassadors. The third, that the grievances of the German nation be redressed; and the fourth, that the deposition of the two Electors be revoked."†

The dangerous illness of the Pope ‡ and the opposition of a portion of the Sacred College, made the negotiations which ensued both tedious and difficult.§ A happy conclusion was, however, arrived at, and expressed in four

* See the remarkable letter of the Abbot of San. Galgano, written on the 23rd January, 1447, which I found in the State Archives at Siena (Appendix, No. 24).

† Martène, *Vet. Mon.*, viii., 980-988. Mansi, *Orat. Pii*, ii., 108 *et seq.*

‡ The different phases of the illness which attacked Eugenius IV. on the day after he had given audience to the German Ambassadors (12th January, 1447), are detailed at length in a set of *letters written by the Abbot of San. Galgano, who was at the time in Rome on a Mission from the Republic of Siena. See the text in Appendix, No. 23, 25-30. I found the originals of these letters in the Chigi Library, Rome, Cod. E., vi., 187.

§ Scarampo and the Cardinals Carvajal and Parentucelli, who had been created on the 16th December, 1446, were in favour of the acceptance of the Concordat.

Papal documents, bearing date the 5th and 7th February, 1447, and forming what is known as the Concordat of the Princes. The demands of Germany were, with some abatements, granted in principle, but the concessions were made in a vague and guarded manner.* After the Ambassadors had received these Bulls, they gathered round the bed of the sick Pope, "who, on that day, had in some degree come to himself, and was able to attend to business;" on their knees took the oath of obedience, and afterwards, in open Consistory, solemnly repeated their declaration (7th February).† Those who, by means of their plenipotentiaries, took part in this Concordat, were: the King of the Romans, acting on his own behalf and on that of the Crown of Bohemia, the Electors of Mayence and Brandenburg, the Margrave Albert, acting for himself and his brother John, Duke William of Saxony, and the Landgrave Louis of Hesse, together with the Bishops of Halberstadt and Breslau, and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.‡

This event caused immense joy in Rome alike among the clergy and the populace. Although but a portion of the German nation had promised obedience to the Pope, the rejoicings were as great as if the entire Holy Roman Empire had made complete submission. All the bells of the city rang out, bonfires were lighted, and solemn processions were made to give God thanks for so great a benefit.

The submission of those German Princes, who still per-

* See Hefele's ample analysis (vii., 830-835).

† The great Archbishop of Florence, St. Antoninus, was one of the witnesses of this important proceeding; see his *Chronicon*, iii., t. 22, c. 11, § 17.

‡ Report of the Saxon Ambassador, H. Engelhardt, in Pückert, 303.

sisted in their opposition, was now a mere question of time, and the cause of the Synod of Basle was definitely lost in Germany. Eugenius issued a special Bull,* declaring that in the concessions which he had made to Germany, moved by his anxiety for the welfare of the Church, though unable through illness to investigate the matter as thoroughly as he would have desired, he had not intended in any way to compromise the rights or the authority of the Apostolic See. On the 23rd February he died, consoled by the knowledge that the Schism had lost its power, and that the Church was again resuming her sway.†

Looking back on the Pontificate of Eugenius IV., we

* Dated 5th February, and published by Raynaldus, ad an. 1447, N. 7.

† See Æneas Sylvius' account in Muratori, iii., 2, 889 *et seq.* Regarding the tomb of Eugenius, see Gregorovius, Grabmäler, 87 *et seq.* A view is given in Tosi, Tav., 129. According to Vespasiano da Bisticci, "Eugenio IV." (in Mai, Spicil. x, 23), the Pope exclaimed when on his death-bed: "O Gabriello, quanto sarebbe suto meglio per la salute dell'anima tua, che tu non fussi mai suto nè Papa nè Cardinale, ma fussiti morto nella tua religione!" These words have often been quoted in a spirit of partisanship, but Balan (v., 154) rejects them on the ground that they do not appear in the other accounts of the Pope's death; they are, to say the least, of doubtful authenticity, and in connection with the actual circumstances of the case, it seems improbable that they should have been spoken. For, as even Janus (354) admits, Eugenius died victorious over the Council and over Germany. Granting, however, that the Pope may, in a fit of despondency, have used these words, there is nothing in them to justify the inference drawn by Janus (*loc. cit.*), and after him by Gregorovius, of "remorse" for the means which he had employed. The Pope might have felt remorse for the large concessions made to the Germans, and for this very reason he published, on the 5th February, the important Bull which we have mentioned.

must say, with Æneas Sylvius, that it is marked by an uncommon measure of prosperity and of misfortune, and that the two are pretty equally balanced.* Prosperity would have greatly preponderated if the Pope had shown more moderation and prudence in his proceedings.† Æneas has, in a few words, given an admirable sketch of his character. "He was magnanimous, but without moderation; his actions were guided by his desires rather than by his powers."‡ Yet it was a time when the perplexed state of ecclesiastical and political affairs rendered prudence in a special degree necessary. Even at the moment of Eugenius' accession the position was critical enough, for the long-postponed question of Church reform cried for solution, and the Hussite heresy, which daily assumed a more alarming aspect, was not to be repressed by force of arms, and had to be rendered harmless by conciliatory means.§ Eugenius was partly the victim of circumstances, but it cannot be denied that, with his utter want of political experience, he often made matters worse by imprudence and obstinacy. As years went on, however, his opponents became convinced of the firmness of his principles, and from 1438 he was in many important matters successful. Considering the countless obstacles in his way, his successes are not to be estimated by an ordinary standard. He entered on the struggle for the restoration of Papal authority with but a small body of

* Muratori, iii., 2, 891 (Baluze, Misc., vii., 547). Chmel (Friedrich IV., ii., 410-412) has brought together the opinions of many contemporaries regarding Eugenius.

† See Frommann, *Kritische Beiträge zur Gesch. der Florentiner Kircheneinigung* (Halle, 1872), 23.

‡ Baluze, Misc., vii., 547. Frommann, *loc. cit.* See also Monrad. Michelsen, p. 22 *et seq.*

§ Aschbach, iv., 17.

loyal adherents, and, although without resources, and forsaken alike by ecclesiastical and temporal princes, he carried it on with unwearied energy until the victory was won.* The victory was not indeed complete, but its consequences were most important. At the time when Eugenius became Pope, the Schism had diffused even among the noblest sons of the Church false doctrines regarding the Papal Primacy and a tone antagonistic to the chief Pastor of the Church; when he died, the men of most importance were on the side of Rome;† the opponents of the Apostolic See and of the monarchical constitution of the Church, in short all the anti-ecclesiastical elements, had sustained a notable defeat; the attempt to change the Pope into a mere phantom-ruler, a sort of Doge,‡ had come to nought; and the greatest conflict which a Council had ever waged against Rome,§ was practically decided in favour of the Holy See.

High praise is unquestionably due to Eugenius for his absolute freedom from nepotism,|| and his bitterest opponents have never ventured to impugn the purity of his life.¶ His unwearied activity in works of charity is also worthy of grateful remembrance.

Eugenius IV. was, in the fullest sense of the word, a

* Zhishman, 21.

† The list of adversaries whom Eugenius IV. saw return to their allegiance contains names of great eminence: Cardinals Capranica, Cervantes, and Cesarini, Nicholas of Cusa, and Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

‡ Raumer, *Kirchenversamml.*, 131, thus characterizes the efforts made at Basle.

§ Juan de Segovia in the *Mon. concil.*, ii., 63.

|| Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 94.

¶ “*Attenta integritatis vitæ et sanctitatis vitæ fama*,” are the words of the Encyclical of the Basle Synod, issued on the 21st January, 1432, *Mansi*, xxix., 237. See Zhishman, 22.

father of the poor and the sick, to whom, according to Paolo Petrone, "he gave liberal alms, and he portioned many needy young maidens." St. Frances of Rome, who at this time filled the Eternal City with the splendour of her holiness, found in the Pope a generous promoter of her pious and benevolent undertakings.* The Hospital of Santo Spirito, which had fallen into decay, was an object of special care to Eugenius. He rescued the institution from its pecuniary difficulties, restored the ruined buildings, and put an end to irregularities which had arisen in the Confraternity, so that he really deserves to be considered as its second founder. He plainly declared that "if the Master General of the Order (at that time his own nephew, Pietro Barbo) did not fulfil his duty, he would take the burden on his own shoulders, and himself act as Master General and Superior of the Hospital, deeming such a charge by no means incompatible with the dignity of the Tiara.† In order to give a fresh impulse to the Confraternity, he became a member on the 10th April, 1446, and undertook to contribute a certain sum yearly.

* See Lady G. Fullerton, *St. Frances of Rome*, 124 *et seq.* The kindness shown by Eugenius IV. to poor people and to convents is mentioned in terms of high praise by George of Trebizond in the **Oratio edita et pronunciata apud S. Pontificem Eugenium papam quartum de laudibus eius*. Cod. 487, f. 3, in the Court Library at Vienna.

† H. Brockhaus, *Das Hospital Sto. Spirito zu Rom im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, in *Janitschek's Repertorium* (1884), vii., 282-283. See P. Saulnier, *De capite sacri ordinis Sti. Spiritus dissertatio* (Lugduni, 1649); Azzurri, *I nuovi restauri del archiospedale di Sto. Spirito in Saxia* (Roma, 1868), and Morichini, 100, 111 *et seq.* See also the **Istoria dell' opere pie di Roma*, racc, da Camillo Fanucci Senese, in Cod. E. 111, 4, f. 13 of the Casanate Library in Rome. There is an account of the aid given by Eugenius IV. to the Sto. Spirito in *Cod. Vatic., 7871, f. 52. Vatican Library.

The Pope's example was followed by many Cardinals, among whom were Francesco Condulmaro, Giovanni Tagliacozzo, Niccolò Acciapacci, Giorgio Fieschi, Bessarion, Antonio Martini, Jean le Jeune de Contay, d'Estouteville, Torquemada, Scarampo, and Alfonzo Borgia, who afterwards became Calixtus III.*

The "visita graziosa," after the plan of an ancient institution in the Church, was, we are told, established in the time of Eugenius IV. Twice every month Magistrates and Overseers of the poor visited the prisoners and questioned each of them separately; when occasion offered they mitigated punishments; they brought about agreements between debtors and creditors, and, in many cases, set prisoners at liberty. The Popes, who have so often taken a prominent part in promoting the welfare of humanity, the progress of civilization and the exercise of benevolence, were also among the first to interest themselves in the

* *Liber confraternitatis Sti. Spiritus in the Archives of Sto. Spirito (T. 32), begins, f. 1, with Eugenius' Bull "Salvatoris nostri," d. d. 1446, viii. Calend. April; f. 2 has the following words: "In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Incipit liber confraternitatis Sti. Spiritus et Stæ. Marie in Saxia de urbe," after which are the autograph entries: "Ego Eugenius catholic. ecclesie episcopus dono annuatim ducat. auri principales (the number is unfortunately effaced).—Ego Franciscus episc. Portuen. Card. Venet. et R. E. vicecancell.—Ego Johannes (episc. card). Prænestin. major penitent.—Ego Nicolaus tit. S. Marcelli Card. Capuanus.—Ego Card. de Flisco.—Ego B[essarion] basilicæ, xii. Apost. presbyt. —Supra et infrascripti rev. d. cardinales intraverunt fraternitatem predictam hodie x. Aprilis 1446, coram prefato S.D.N. scripserunt se manibus propriis eadem hora qua D.N. intravit et se manu propria scripsit." f. 2b: "Ego Antonius tit. S. Crisogoni.—Ego Johannes tit. S. Laurentii in Lucina.—Ego Guillelmus tit. S. Martini in montibus.—Ego Johannes tit. S. Marie Transtib.—L. Card. Aquiles. tit. S. Laurentii in Damaso.—Ego. Card. Valent. tit. iv. Coronator."

improvement of prisons and the alleviation of the lot of prisoners, remembering that the proper aim of punishment is not retaliation, but the amendment of the criminal, or at least the protection of society from further injury.*

One aspect of this reign demands special consideration, because it has been made the occasion of serious charges against Eugenius IV. It is true that the general reform of ecclesiastical affairs was not carried out during his pontificate, but have those who blame him asked themselves whether such general reform was possible?

A very clear-sighted contemporary, who was also a thorough friend of reform, answers in the negative. The celebrated Dominican, Master John Nider, held a general reform of the Church in its head and its members to be a practical impossibility. He believed experience to have shown that only a partial reform was possible, and, in his chief work, the "*Formicarius*," he endeavoured to support this opinion. He draws a lesson from the custom of the ants who build themselves a city composed of many little dwellings, which they protect in their way from heat and from rain with sticks and leaves. "Herein," he explains, "they are the emblems of those who belong to the General Council, and especially of the Prelates; for they, as far as in them lies, have charge to reform the City of the Church Militant in its several orders, where it has suffered damage, that is to say, to instruct men in the way of serving God, to defend them from the heat of passions and the assaults of enemies, and in word and deed so to behave themselves that they may deserve to be specially led in this by the Spirit of God. Now, alas! it is all very different." The Councils of Constance and Basle, Nider continues, have made it their special business to reform the Church in its

* *Neue Römische Briefe*, i., 146 *et seq.*, 150 *et seq.* See Morichini, 783 *et seq.*

head and members. Much was said, particularly at Basle, about the Church ; the Council called itself, in the title of almost all its Bulls, a Council of reform, it even established a Commission of reform, "and for six whole years the amendment of the various ranks of the clergy has been dealt with, but we have not perceived any result." Is there any hope of a general reformation of the Church in its Head and its members ? "I have," answers Nider, "absolutely none in the present time, or in the immediate future ; for goodwill is wanting among the subjects, the evil disposition of the prelates constitutes an obstacle, and, finally, it is profitable to God's elect to be tried by persecution from the wicked. You may see an analogy in the art of building. An architect, however skilful he may be, can never erect an edifice unless he has suitable material of wood or stone. And if there is wood or stone in sufficient quantity, but no master-builder, there will be no proper house and dwelling. And, if you knew that a house would not be fitting for your friend, or, when built, would be a trouble to him, you certainly would be prudent enough not to build it. Apply these three instances to the total reformation of the Church, and you will perceive its impossibility. However, I have no doubt that a partial reformation of the Church in many of its conditions and orders is possible."*

Eugenius IV. adopted this course ; he began the work of reform in the only way which was, under the circumstances, possible or profitable, by the amendment and regeneration of the Religious Orders and then of the clergy.† The terrible storms which broke over the Papacy often interfered with the accomplishment of his excellent purposes ; nevertheless, during the whole of his Pontificate he devoted the

* Schieter, Joh. Nider, 188-189.

† As early as July 6th, 1431, Eugenius IV. wrote to John Duke of Brittany ; "**Nos enim reformationem cleri semper dum essemus in minoribus optabamus et ad papatum assumpti ad eam*

greatest attention to the improvement of the morals of the secular and regular clergy. Reform was constantly talked of at Basle, but very little was done to carry it out. Truly pious and priestly-minded men were wanting. The very fathers who spoke most constantly of the simplicity of the Apostolic Church were seen hunting and hawking, fully accoutred and attended by a long train of lay retainers, or feasting at sumptuous banquets.* Eugenius IV. took the reform of the Roman clergy in hand in 1432, and continued the work even during the time of his exile.† After his return to Rome he looked closely to the maintenance of discipline amongst them.‡ Vespasiano da Bisticci gives a detailed account of the manner in which he reformed the monasteries of Florence and its neighbourhood during his long sojourn in that city.§ It was Eugenius' purpose to

totis affectibus anhelamus, et nisi nos ad curas alias necessarie distraxisset turbatio nobis illata per nonnullos rebelles ecclesiæ huiusmodi reformationi magnum iam principium dedissemus, quod tamen cito per Dei gratiam superatis iis difficultatibus faciemus." I found this letter, which, as far as I know, has not yet been published, in Cod. i., 75-76, f. 82b of the Borghese Library, Rome.

* See Voigt., Enea Silvio, i., 110, and Schieler, 349, 351.

† See Bullar., v., 6-10: Ordinances for the reform of the clergy of the City of Rome, 1432, Feb. 23. *Ibid.* 16-17, a Bull contra simoniacæ pravitatis reos eorumque mediatores, dated 1434, May 18. Eugenius specially insisted on the removal of the secular Canons from the Lateran, and replaced them by regular Clerks; see *Brief of 8th February, 1439, in the Lateran Archives.

‡ See his **Letters to the Bishops of Aquila and Bologna regarding the reform of the clergy at the Lateran, dated Rome, 1445. Nono Kal. Januar. A° xv.º, Reg. 377, f. 296b. Private Archives of the Vatican.

§ Mai, Spicil., i., 10 *et seq.* Many proofs of the promotion of monastic reform by Eugenius IV. are given in Wadding, x. and xi. See Bull. ord. prædic., iii. Weiss, Vor der Reformation, 23 *et seq.*, has some good remarks on the monastic reform of the fifteenth century.

restore strict observance in all monasteries, but adverse circumstances hindered the accomplishment of his plan. In connection with his zeal in this matter, we may mention his special affection for St. Bernardine of Siena and St. John Capistran; almost as soon as the former of these holy men had breathed his last, the process for his canonization was introduced.*

Eugenius IV. was not unmindful of the interests of art and artists; in fact, he gave them every encouragement possible in those troublous days.

Recent investigations have thrown much light on the Venetian Pope's relation to art, and the matter is especially worthy of attention, because in some sense he prepared the way for his great successor. Although it is a mistake to consider Eugenius IV. as the first of the line of Renaissance Popes,† yet it is true that he prepared the way for it, and his action in this respect is more apparent in the domain of art than in that of literature.

Like Martin V., Eugenius IV. was most simple and modest in his own manner of living, but deemed no splendour too great where the worship of God was concerned. The tiara which Ghiberti made by his order must have been a very marvel of magnificence; the gold employed in it alone weighed fifteen pounds, and the precious stones and pearls five and a half more. The value of these jewels—rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and pearls (amongst which were six of the size of a hazel-nut)—was estimated by the Florentine goldsmiths at eight and thirty thousand golden florins. The exquisite workmanship of Ghiberti added to the worth of this costly tiara; the little figures and ornaments which adorned it were made by his own hand; in front our Lord was represented seated on a throne and surrounded by a choir of angels; at the back

* Wadding, xi., 233 *et seq.* See Vol. ii., Book I., chapter III.

† Gregorovius, Grabmäler, 2nd ed., p. 86.

was the Blessed Virgin, also enthroned and attended by angels; four medallions contained the Evangelists, and the band at the base was decorated with cherubs.* That the exiled Pope should have displayed such magnificence may be explained by the fact that the tiara was destined to be worn at the solemn ratification of the union with the Greeks, an act which was considered as an immense victory won by the Papacy, at the very moment when the Council of Basle was doing its utmost to destroy it.

In the eternal city, Eugenius IV. also followed the example of his powerful predecessor by taking special care of the restoration of the churches, without, however, forgetting the other buildings, the gates, the walls of the city, and the bridges. By his command works of restoration were undertaken at St. Peter's, St. Paul's, Sta. Maria Maggiore, Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Sto. Spirito in Sassia, and in the Lateran.† In the last-named church the frescoes representing scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist, begun in the time of Martin V. by Gentile da Fabriano, were finished by Vittore Pisanello.‡ Even while in exile, Eugenius managed to contribute considerable sums of money for these purposes; in 1437-1438 alone, he gave more than three thousand ducats.§ The Pantheon, an

* Müntz, i., 36, 53. Kinkel, 29, 56. The above description of the tiara is taken literally from the able work of Müntz, who justly observes in regard to Eugenius' love of splendour: "On reconnaît le Vénitien à cet amour du luxe, de la couleur;" (i., 36).

† Müntz, i., 38 *et seq.*, 48 *et seq.*, 50 *et seq.* Rasponus, 31, 93. In this reign, as in Martin V.'s, comparatively few new buildings were erected. "Quand nous aurons cité le palais de la Monnaie, le presbytère du Latran et, en dehors de Rome, le palais de Bologne, nous en aurons à peu près épuisé la liste." (*loc. cit.*, 32). For the edifices built by the Cardinals, see Reumont, iii., 1, 376-377.

‡ Müntz, i., 46-47. See v. Otenthal in the *Mittheilungen*, v. 441.

§ *Loc. cit.*, i., 37.

ancient heathen building, which had long served as a church, was restored, its splendid pillars were cleared to the base, and the entrance and floor paved with Travertine marble. On this occasion were discovered two basalt lions of Egyptian workmanship, which Pius VII. afterwards placed in the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican, and a wonderful porphyry basin, supposed at that time to be the Sarcophagus of Agrippa; it now adorns the splendid monument of Clement XII. in the Lateran.*

We have already spoken of the influence which his prolonged sojourn at Florence, the centre of the Renaissance, exercised on Eugenius IV., but to complete the picture of his life we must again return to the subject.

In Florence, Eugenius saw the first gate made by Ghiberti for the Baptistry, and it seems most probable that the sight of this masterpiece suggested to him the idea of ordering a similar work for the principal church in Rome. Accordingly the Florentine architect, Antonio Averulino surnamed Filarete, was commissioned to make new bronze gates for St. Peter's. They were put up on the 26th June, 1445, and still adorn the central entrance. Although their workmanship cannot bear comparison with that of Ghiberti, they are worthy of notice as clearly exhibiting that evil influence of the Renaissance, of which we shall hereafter have to speak. In his work, which was destined for the principal entrance of the noblest church in the world, Filarete had, to use the mildest term, the bad taste to place, together with the figures of our Saviour, His Virgin Mother and the Princes of the Apostles, and amid representations of the great religious acts of Eugenius' Pontificate, not only busts of the Roman Emperors, but also the forms of Mars and Roma, of Jupiter and Ganymede, Hero and Leander, of a Centaur leading a nymph through the sea, and

* *Loc. cit.*, i., 34-35. Plattner-Bunsen, iii., 3, 346. R. Schöner, *Das Römische Pantheon* (Allgemeine Zeitung, 1883, N. 336).

even of Leda and the swan ; the composition is in keeping with the contemporary poems of the Humanists, where the names of Christian Saints and of heathen gods* are promiscuously intermingled.

It is curious that the same Pope who had these gates put up at S. Peter's, took Fra Angelico da Fiesole, the most devout of Christian artists, into his service, and employed this great master, in whose works the mystical tendency of Italian art reaches its climax, in the decoration of his new chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the Vatican.† Hardly any fact could be better calculated to modify a hasty condemnation of the encouragement given to the Renaissance by the Popes. The first period of the Renaissance was one of striking contrasts, not only in the domain of literature, but also in that of art, and from these very contrasts the Pontificate of the successor of Eugenius derives its distinctive character.

* Hettner, 73, 171. See Piper, *Christl. Mythologie*, i., 292 *et seq.*, 362, 425, 435, 444 ; ii., 542, 644. Meyer, *Künstlerlexikon*, i., 472. Müntz, *Précurseurs*, 90-94 ; and H. v. Tschudi, "Filarete's Mitarbeiter an den Bronzethüren von St. Peter," in *Janitschek's Repertorium* (1884), vii., 291-294. We must, however, bear in mind that, in the days of which we are writing, people were not shocked, as they would now be, with incongruities of this kind.

† Müntz, i., 91. It is worthy of remark that Eugenius IV., who had sojourned for a long time in the Dominican Monastery at Florence (*loc. cit.*, i., 34), brought forward artists of this Order. Regarding the Dominican, Antonio of Viterbo, see the notice of N. della Tuccia (206), which Müntz has overlooked. From this notice it appears, that the wooden gates for S. Peter's carved by Antonio were almost finished at the time of the death of Eugenius IV.

APPENDIX.

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS AND EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

The documents here brought together are only intended to corroborate and complete the text. It did not form part of the plan of my work to furnish an actual collection of Archives. I have given as accurately as I could the place where each is to be found. From considerations of space, my explanatory observations have been made as few and as brief as possible. As a rule, I have retained the spelling, punctuation, &c., of the text; such alterations as I have made in regard to capital letters and punctuation do not require justification. All emendations of any importance are mentioned, but slight mistakes and obvious misprints are corrected without remark. Additions are marked by brackets, and incomprehensible or doubtful passages by a note of interrogation, or the word "sic." Those which I have omitted as beside my purpose, either in my first copy, or later, when preparing for the press, are indicated by dots (. . .).

1. *Pope Gregory XI. to Giovanni Fieschi, Bishop of Vercelli.**

1374, August 9,

Villeneuve, in the Diocese of Avignon.

Venerabili fratri episcopo Vercellensi salutem, etc.

* Cf. *supra*, p. 54. For the sake of brevity, instead of giving the descriptive titles of this and the following documents, I refer to the place in the text where they are mentioned.

Pervenit ad nos, quod liber seu volumen, qui vocatur Trogius Pompeius,* ubi historie parcium orientalium diffuso lepore contexti feruntur, in Vercellensi urbe repertus est. . . . Et quia dictus liber nimium est sensibus nostris acceptus et longe acceptior, si eum presencialiter habemus, fraternitatem tuam rogamus interne, quatenus circa invencionem ipsius absque mora impendere studeas operam efficacem eumque ut speramus inventum ad nos per fidelem delatorem non differas destinare, nobis proinde plurimum placiturus. Datum Novis, Avinion. dioc. v. id. aug. anno quarto. Regest. 270, f. 199. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

2. *Pope Gregory XI. to Bernardo Cariti, Canon of Paris.*†

1374, August 11,

Villeneuve, in the Diocese of Avignon.

Dilecto filio Bernardo Cariti canonico Parisiensi, apostolice sedis nuntio salutem, etc.

Discretioni tue tenore presencium iubemus expresse, quatenus in loco Serbone Parisiis perquiri facias diligenter in librariis eius pro libris Tullii Ciceronis scriptis in cedula presentibus interclusa. Et si quidem eos vel aliquos aut aliquem eorum inveneris, prout alias scimus inventos esse, illos facias pro nobis per intelligentes scriptores illico exemplari et exemplatos quamprimum poteris ad nos per fidelem delatorem destinare procures, cautus ut in illis nullam committas negligentiam vel defectum. Dat. Novis, Avinion. dioc. iii. id. Aug. pontificatus nostri anno quarto.‡

* Cf. Marini, *Archiatr.* ii., 21. Salutato also commissioned a friend of his to search for the Pompejus Trogius, of which he knew from Justinus. Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i., 2nd ed., 209.

† Cf. *supra*, p. 54.

‡ On the Bibliographical wealth of Paris, and later researches for Cicero's writings in France, see Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, 2nd ed., 2, 336, 341.

3. *Pope Gregory XI. to Lucca.**

1375, Aug. 10, Villeneuve, Avignon.

Gregorius episcopus servus servorum dei. Dilectis filiis regiminibus et communi civitatis Lucan[e] salutem et apostolicam ben.

Gravibus et diversis pariterque iniustis querelis Florentinorum seu eos regentium nuper verbo et scripto dolentur auditis eis qui in detestabilem superbiam videntur efferri et contra Sanctam Romanam ecclesiam, eorum et cunctorum fidelium matrem, cornua elationis erigere ac se immergere nonnullosque alios secum in precipitium trahere moliuntur, respondemus per nostras litteras, quarum tenorem inclusum presentibus dilectioni vestre volumus esse notum, sinceritatem vestram rogantes attentius et hortantes quatinus tanquam viri redimiti prudentia, fide constantes et devotione preclari nullis vos permittatis adulationibus decipi, nullis seditionibus corrumpi nullisque comminationibus teneri ad hiis, qui vostram quietem turbare et devotionem depravare forsitan niterentur et vicinorum suorum libertatem in servitutem redigunt, quando possunt, sed columpne prefate ecclesie, que libertatem vestram optat et querit tanquam devotissimi filii hereatis. Datum apud Villamnovam Avinionen. dioc. iv. id. aug., pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

FRANCISCUS.

Orig., with leader seal, Lucca, State Archives, Arm. 6, n. 379.

4. *The Republic of Florence to the Romans.†*

1376, Jan. 4, Florence.

Romanis. Magnifici domini fratres nostri carissimi. Deus benignissimus cuncta disponens et sub immutabilis

* See *supra*, p. 102.

† See *supra* p. 109. This remarkable letter is undoubtedly from the pen of the Florentine Chancellor Coluccio Salutato (†1406, May

iusticie ordine nobis incognito res mortalium administrans, miseratus humilem Italiam ingemiscere sub iugo abominabilis servitutis, suscitavit spiritum populorum et erexit oppressos contra fedissimam tyrannidem barbarorum. Et, ut videtis, undique pari voto excita demum Ausonia libertatem fremit, libertatem ferro viribusque procurat. Quibus nos requirentibus in tam preclaro proposito ac tam favorabili causa nostra subsidia non negamus. Que cuncta vobis tanquam publice libertatis autoribus ac patribus credimus ad iocunditatem accedere, cum cognoscantur ad maiestatem Romani populi et vestrum naturale propositum pertinere. Hic enim libertatis amor olim Romanum populum contra regiam tyrannidem impulit et ad abrogandum imperio decemvirum, illam ob compressionem Lucretie, istud ob damnationem Virginie concitavit. Hec libertas Oratium Coclitem solum contra infestos hostes ruituro obiecit in ponte. Hec Mutium sine spe salutis in Porsennam immisit et proprie manus incendio stupendum regi omnique posteritati prebuit admirandum. Hec duos Decios sponte devote morti et gladiis hostium consecravit. Et ut singulos mortales vestre civitatis ingentia lumina dimittat-

4); see Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i., 2nd ed., 202, n. 2. It confirms the remarks made by Voigt, *loc. cit.*, 204-206, and Reumont, ii., 984; iii., 1, 290, regarding the redundant and declamatory style of the celebrated Secretary of State. Gherardi (*Guerra dei Fiorentini*, vii., 1, 223), and Gregorovius (vi., 3rd ed., 446-447) have already given some passages from it. The latter and Voigt, who follows him, (*loc. cit.*), are mistaken in mentioning the 6th January as the date. Gregorovius (vi., 3rd ed., 448-449) gives a translation of the Florentines' letter of the 1st February, 1376, which immediately followed the above appeal and is couched in the same pompous tone. Both letters are mentioned by Balan (iv., 395, n. 2). Cipolla (159) speaks of that written on the 4th January as "una lettera bollentissima colle allusione classiche che ricordano i discorsi di Cola."

mus, hec sola fecit ut Romanus populus, rerum dominus et victor gentium, innumerabilibus victoriis totum orbem, sanguinem etiam suum effundendo, peragraverit. Ob quod, fratres carissimi, cum omnes ad libertatem naturaliter incendantur, vos soli ex debito hereditario quodam iure obligamini ad studia libertatis. Quid erat aspicere nobilem Italiam, cuius iuris est ceteris nationibus imperare, tam seva pessundari servitute? Quid erat videre hanc fedam barbariem prede et sanguini Latinorum seve crudelitatis nixibus* inhantem per miserum Latium desevire? Quo circa insurgite et vos, o inclitum nedum Italie caput sed totius orbis domitor populus, contra tantam tirannidem fovete populos, expellite abominationem de Italie finibus et libertatem cupientes protegite, et si quos vel ignavia vel iugum fortius ac durius sub servitute continet, excitate. Hec sunt opera vero Romanorum. Nolite pati per iniuriam hos Gallicos voratores vestre Italie tam crudeliter imminere. Nec sinceritatem vestram seducant blandicie clericorum, quos scimus vos privatim et publice ambire suggerereque vobis, quod placeat et velitis statum ecclesie sustinere, offerentes papam curiam Romanam in Italiam translaturum et in magno verborum lenocinio vobis quemdam optabilem urbem statum ex adventu curie designantes. Denique hec omnia huc redeunt, hoc concludunt: facite Romani, quod Italia serviat, opprimatur et conculcetur et hi Gallici dominantur. An potest vobis aliquod proponi lucrum, aliquodve precium deputari quod preponendum sit Italice libertati? Quid plura? an potest levitati barbare aliquid credi? Aut de gente instabili certum aliquid opinari? Pridem Urbanus† quanta spe perpetui incolatus reduxit curiam? et quam subito, seu naturali vicio et levitate, seu sacietate Italie, seu Galliarum suarum desiderio

* "Nexibus" in the Vienna Codex.

† Urban V. See *supra* p. 95.

hoc tam constans propositum commutavit? Addite, quod summum pontificem trahebat in Italiam sola civitas Perusina, quam, cum omnibus Tuscie urbibus videatur excellere, sedem sibi continuam preparabat; et si quid humano commercio lucri poterat cum hac gente sperari, totum a vobis erat, si recte respicitis, affuturum. Nunc autem desperatis rebus offerunt, quod facturi non erant. Et ideo, fratres carissimi, considerate ipsorum facta, non verba; non illos enim vestra utilitas, sed dominandi cupiditas in Italiam evocabat. Nolite decipi in nectare verborum, sed prout diximus* Italiam vestram, quam compte progenitores vestri universo orbi multa impensa sanguinis prefecerunt, saltem nolite pati barbaris et externis gentibus subiacere. Dicite nunc, imo repetite ex publico consulto illud incliti Catonis dictum: nolumus tam liberi esse quam cum liberis vivere. Datum Florentie die quarta ianuarii XIV. ind. Nos autem communem nostrum omnemque nostram militarem potentiam ad beneplacita vestra paratum offerimus, in vestri nominis gloriam transmissuri.—Council of Florence State Archives.

Conc. Florence, State Archives. Signor. Car. Miss, XV., 40. Cop. Court Library, Vienna, Cod. lat. 3121, f. 67a-67b.

5. *Pope Gregory XI. to Osimo.*†

1377, Feb. 12, Rome.

Gregorius episcopus servus servorum dei Dilectis filiis confaloniero, prioribus ac consilio et communi civitatis nostre Auximane, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Litteram vestram in forma brevis nobis directam benigne recepimus, in vestreque fidelitatis constantia tanto maiori exultamus gaudio, quanto ipsa fidelitas in tribulationis tempore sincerior invenitur, vosque proinde letari debetis, quod celebre nomen vobis acquiritis et apostolice sedis

* The Vienna MS. has "diximus," the Florentine "duximus."

† See *supra*, p. 102.

amorem et favorem promeremini potiores. Confortationis igitur spiritum, sicut habuistis hactenus, habere conemini continue in futurum. De damnis autem et tribulationibus vestris vobis paterne compatimur et super eis remedia, que possumus, adhibemus scribimusque dilecto filio nostro Roberto,* basilice XII. apostolorum presbytero cardinali, apostolice sedis legato, ac venerabili fratri nostro Petro,† episcopo Conchensi, provinciæ nostre Marchie Anconitane et nobis et ecclesiæ Romanæ rectori, ac dilecto filio Hugoni de Rupe‡ militi, quod super custodia arcis Auximane studeant celeriter providere. Scribimus etiam dilecto filio nobili viro Silvestro Bude§ militi et aliis Britonibus secundum tenorem presentibus interclusum. Super restitutione autem et ampliacione vestri comitatus, licet multam sedis gratiam mereamini, aliud nunc non respondemus, nisi quod periculosum est ex diversis causis, isto tempore tales facere novitates. Nihilominus tamen vos taliter commendatos habere proponimus, quod poteritis merito contentari.¶ Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum II. id. februar., pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

FRANCISCUS.

* Robert, Cardinal of Geneva, who afterwards became the Anti-Pope Clement VII.

† D. Pedro Gomez Barroso. See *Noticias de todos los ilmos. señores obispos que han regido la diócesis de Cuenca por Fr. Muñoz y Soliva* (Cuenca, 1860), 123-127, and Compagnoni, 229, 237, 241, 242 *et seq.*, 247; the account given by the latter is very confused, and in some particulars quite incorrect.

‡ "Mareschallus curiæ Romanæ" under Clement VI. and Gregory XI. Further particulars regarding him are given by Baluze, i., 883 *et seq.*, 1193; ii., 671 *et seq.*, 740 *et seq.*

§ See Muratori, xvi., 1096.

¶ The documents indicated by Cecconi (28 *et seq.*) show how Osimo was rewarded. Cecconi also mentions the foregoing letter, but with the erroneous date of Feb. 4. The *letter of Gregory XI. calling upon Osimo to give a good example to the other subjects

[*In verso* :]

Dilectis filiis confalonerio, prioribus ac consilio et communi civitatis Auximane.

Original on parchment in the Archives at Osimo.

6. *Pope Gregory XI. to Florence.**

1377, Juli 15, Anagni.

Gregorius episcopus servus servorum dei.

Populo civitatis Florencie spiritum consilii sanioris. Pulsat mentem nostram pastoralis solercia et sollicitudo paterna, ut vos, olim devotionis filios, in tenebris nunc sedentes et adulterinis quorundam pestilentium regentium et antepositorum in facto guerre vigentis seductionibus et mendosis fictionibus obfuscatos, veritatis detegendo rectitudinem, piis affatibus alloquamur, ne presides ipsi, veneno detractionis infecti et ambitionis cupidine turpiter excecati, assumpto mendacii spiritu falsis eorum persuasionibus vos in profundum malorum precipites secum trahant ; hii profecto rectores et antepositi, quos gloria vexat inanis, sic elati sunt in superbia, ut luciferini cum principibus sedere cupiant et in solio presidere glorie dominantis, nullam libertatem querentes nullamque ad concives suos vel quosvis alios caritatem habentes vel amicitiam, quicquid fingant, adeo ceci facti cupiditatis ingluvie, ut videntes non videant nec intelligant audientes. Sed utinam saperent et novissima previderent ac pariter providerent. Quid autem demeruerat apud ipsos Romana ecclesia, fidelium omnium pia mater et magistra, in cuius gremio commune Florencie prerogativa speciali quiescebat, et que ipsum commune, ut de retropreteritis taceamus, proximis eciam temporibus

of the church (" bonum exemplum aliis ecclesie prefate subditis prebeatis "), noticed by the same author, is not dated Avignon the 5th March, but the 22nd February (for such is the signification of viii. Cal. Mart.).

* See *supra*, pp. III and II4.

coaluit et defendit veluti pullos suos gallina sub alis, et a servitute tyrannica, cui propinquum erat, pluries ut est notorium preservavit. Ipsi vero rectores et antepositi, prosperitatis ipsius invidi, nulli occasione vel culpa eiusdem ecclesie nullaque diffidatione precedentibus, quinyimo colligatione durante prioribusque nobis scribentibus, cuiusmodi scripturas studiosę servamus, quod ecclesiam in nullo offenderent nisi ipsa primitus inchoaret, repentino ictu atrociter debachantes et insanientes, in ipsam omnes eius terras ad rebellionis seviciem clandestinis mendaciorum flatibus perfidisque suggestionibus concitarunt, ipsamque insontem, suo inebriati furore ac morbo ingratitude fedissime laborantes, alias inauditis affecerunt et obstinatione dampnabili affligere non desistunt iacturis, gravibus iniuriis et offensis. O ceca ambicio, que nec deum timet nec homines reveretur. O quam funesta rabies, que tantorum cedium, incendiorum, deflorationum, stuprorum et aliorum innumerorum et horrendorum facinorum non metuerit causam et initium propinare. O quam barbarica ferocitas omni beluina crudelior, que manus sacrilegas in christos domini, quibus olim pharaonica impietas adhuc de proprio alimenta prebebat, extendere, bona eorum mobilia distrahere et, quod alias per quoscunque quantumcumque nefandos persecutores ecclesie nunquam factum fuisse narratur, immobilia alienare et dei prophanare sanctuarium non expavit. Vos autem convenimus, o popule, qui tanquam pusillus grex ad excidium temporale et eternum supplicium ducimini per predictos. Quid vobis profuit aut prodesse vel quem fructum proferre potest miserabilis ista vestrorum collisio vicinorum, qua divisis ac frementibus in se communitatibus et universitatibus quamplurimis, ac patre in filium, fratre in fratrem, cive in civem, et contra sevientibus tot mortes, depopulationes agrorum et infinita scandala

continue perfidorum ipsorum presidum vestrorum ministerio perpetrantur, et tota Italia periclitationi subjicitur ac ruine, qua etiam effcimini plebis abiectio et omni obprobrium nationi, pro qua quidem concussione fovenda vestra corroditur substantia, et figmentis fallacibus adinventionibusque dolosis per prefatos detinemini, obstruso veritatis lumine vinculati. Asserunt enim ut accepimus, licet falsitate mendosa, quod ad concordiam nolumus inclinare, qui teste pacis auctore eius vestigiis inherentes cuius vices licet immeriti gerimus in humanis, premissis non obstantibus, pacem semper appetivimus et nunc etiam summis desideriis affectamus. Sed ultimate destinatis ad nos suis oratoribus qualem nobis pacem obtulerint, audiat. En volunt in primis, quod rebelles nostri et eiusdem ecclesie nec non tyranni, qui terras ipsius ecclesie dictorum rectorum et antepositorum favore et auxilio occuparunt, in execrabili statu rebellionis et tyrannizationis huiusmodi impune debeant hinc ad sexennium remanere. Volunt insuper, quod eis sit licitum, dicto durante sexennio cum dictis rebellibus quancunque ligam et contra quoscunque, etiam nos et dictam ecclesiam, pro libito renovare, et pro premissis omnibus necnon dictis iniuriis et offensis primo viginti, demum vero quinquagintæ milia florenorum singulis annis ipso sexennio perdurante solummodo obtulerunt. Si igitur ista pacis oblatio dici debeat, ubi primo petitur, quod nostri subditi in rebellionem persistent et tyrannia roboretur, ubi secundo futura guerra iam orditur, presagitur et aperte tractatur, ubi tertio de tantis damnis tantisque offensis, iniuriis et iacturis talis et tam elusoria compensatio nobis offertur, vosmetipsi considerare potestis. Et quamvis nos, qui sub spe concordie et pacis in tota Italia, auxiliante deo, reformande, solo nativo, amena patria, populo grato pariter et devoto ac

aliis multis delectabilibus derelictis, necnon regibus, principibus et multis cardinalibus ecclesie predictae, contradicentibus seu supplicantibus de contrario, nullatenus exauditis, ad ipsam accessimus non sine magnis periculis, laboribus et expensis et cum intentione firma reparandi, si qua per officiales nostros et eiusdem ecclesie minus bene gesta fuissent, ad multa nobis indecentia et minus honesta zelo pacis condescendere voluerimus. fueritque cum prefatis oratoribus per nonnullos ex fratribus nostris cardinalibus mediatoribus eciam et instantibus carissime in Christo filie Johanne regine Sicilie illustris et dilectorum filiorum ducis et communis Veneciarum ambaxiatoribus longo iam temporis decursu tractatum, ipsi tamen oratores ad aliud offerendum, quam superius expressum est, nunquam potuerunt induci dicentes, se ad ampliora non habere mandatum, sed de die in diem aliud expectare, de cuius quidem missione nulli hucusque rumores per nos sunt habiti nec habentur, et sic per verba ducimur sine fructu. Hec autem vobis more benigni patris, ovem perditam sollicite requirentis, decrevimus aperire, ut de nobis oblatis per oratores predictos meram veritatem habentes, per deliramenta mendosa dicentium forte, alia fuisse nobis oblata, non circumveniamini, nec ignorancia facti ultraducamini in errorem a certo tenentes, quod nunquam parte nostra stetit, quominus concordia fieret, neque stabit duce deo, si nobis vera, firma et adhuc minus condecens offeratur. Levate igitur oculos et videte, quis rei exitus de tanta humilitate nostra et tanta vestrorum indurata superbia sit verisimiliter secuturus, et utinam quod bonum est eligentes, quae floruit hactenus, rectorum et antepositorum predictorum calliditate dampnabili nunc efflorens, adhuc patre luminum inspirante refloreat nostris in temporibus civitas Florentina. Scientes tamen, quod ubi nobis non offerantur alia, cunctis

principibus, magnatibus et communitatibus orthodoxis premissa pandemus, et iusticia nostra et lenitas vestrorumque obstinata protervitas christicolis omnibus patefiat, sperantes in domino et in devotione fidelium confidentes, quod ipse deus innocenciam nostram ex alto prospiciens ecclesiam sibi sponsam non derelinquet, prout nec hucusque reliquit, finaliter indefensam.

Datum Anagnie id. iul., pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

[*In verso* :]

Populo civitatis Florencie.

Original Document in State Archives, Florence.
Diplomat. Prov. Reform. Atti pubblici.*

* Mentioned by Gherardi (viii., i., 287, n. 368), and used by Gregorovius (vi., 3rd ed., 468). The latter is wrong in giving the 13th July as the date. As to the document itself, see Gherardi, v., ii., 112, and Reumont, ii., 1008-1009, who justly observes that Gregory XI., being perfectly acquainted with the state of affairs in Florence, where the bow had been drawn too tight, endeavoured to foment the popular feeling against the Magistrates, with the object of constraining them to make peace. We learn the names of his Ambassadors from the following unpublished letter, which is also taken from the State Archives of Florence :—"Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei. Prioribus artium ac vexillifero iusticie populi et communis civitatis Florencie spiritum consilii sanioris. Habentibus aliqua vobis parte nostra preferre dilectis filiis Ludovico de Veneciis fratrum minorum et Johanni de Basilia fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini ordinum in sacra pagina professoribus oportunas securi-conductus, quas expectabunt in Pisis, litteras prout fecimus vestris ambaxiatoribus destinare velitis eisque et ipsorum alteri super exponendis eisdem cum ad vos pervenerint fidem credulam adhibere. Datum Anagnie xiii. cal. aug. Pontificatus nostri anno septimo [1377, July 20].

[*In verso* :]

Prioribus artium ac vexillifero iusticie populi et communis civitatis Florencie.

THEOBALDUS.

7. *Pope Gregory XI. to Bertrando, Abbot of San. Niccolò al Lido, Venice.**

[1377] Oct. 7, Anagni.

Bertrando abbati monasterii Sti Nicolai in littore prope Venecias, apostolico collectori. Gregorius etc. Dilecte fili. Ex quo Veneti processus nostros publicari et exequi non curarunt,† volumus et tibi mandamus, ut per aliquem tibi fidum processus eòsdem in valvis ecclesiæ sancti Marci nocturno tempore et opportunitate captata affigi cum clavis secrete procures, sic tamen ordinans et cautelam adhibens, quod eiusdem rei executor huiusmodi statim ipsi adfixis recedere valeat sine suæ aliquo detrimento personæ, et nihilominus processus ipsos in locis circumvicinis facias et procures ubilibet publicari.‡ Datum Anagninæ die vii. octobris.

Cop. Aix (in Provence). Méjanes Library in the Hôtel de Ville. Cod. 915, f. 233.

[Recueil contenant les lettres d'Innocent VI. (p. 1-112),

* See *supra*, p. 115.

† The Venetians even protected the Florentine merchants in Flanders; see the letter of thanks from the Florentines to Venice, dated, Florentiæ die vigesimo primo mensis augusti decima quarta indictione millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo sexto. There is a copy in the House, Court, and State Archives in Vienna. Cod. 570 (Libri commem.), vol. viii. (resp. xi.), f. 18.

‡ The importance of the publication of the Papal sentence in the merchant city of Venice may easily be conceived. I am not able to say with certainty whether it was really carried into effect; most of the accounts (as for example Stefani, 145) speak in very general terms; Bartolomeo Cecchetti (*La repubblica di Venezia e la corte di Roma nei rapporti della religione* [Venezia, 1874], 2 vol.) says nothing on the subject; in any case, the will of the Pope was not at once obeyed in Venice, for in the MS. in the Library at Aix, p. 323-324, there is a *Repetition of the said command, dated Rome, ix. Nov. (1377).

d'Urbain V. (pp. 112-131) et de Grégoire XI. (pp. 131-417). Seventeenth century copy from an old MS. At the beginning is the coat of arms of Charles de Bachi, Marquis d'Aubaïs. The transcriber was a man of education, as is evident from his observations explanatory of the letters; these observations chiefly refer to the publication of some of the letters whole or in part, by Raynaldus. I have sought in vain in the Secret Archives of the Vatican for a portion of the letters contained in the Codex at Aix.]

8. *Pope Gregory XI. to the Nuncio Pietro Raffini.**

[1377] Dec. 26, Rome.

Magistro Petro Raffini, archidiacono Ilerdensi, cameræ nostræ clerico et apostolicæ sedis nuncio. Gregorius etc. Dilecte fili. Sicut nuper tibi scripsimus per urgentissimas, nos prementes indigentias nec lingua nec calamus sufficeret explicare † Ducatus ‡ concutitur, tribulatur Marchia, § et Romandiola permaximis discriminibus est propinqua; clamant armigeri propter pecuniarum defectum nil boni penitus facientes, et cruciamur interius ultra quam sit honestum scribere. Haec in animo recensentes et capitaneorum hic existentium continuos non valentes audire clamores, ideo repetitis vicibus viscerose rogando tibi mandamus, ut in quantum statum nostrum et honorem diligis, quantitatem illam, quæ mitti debebat in fine mensis

* See *supra*, pp. 113 and 115.

† Almost the same expression occurs in a letter from Gregory XI. to the Archbishop John of Prague on the 23rd of February, 1376, in Palacky, *Formelbücher* ii., N. 92. *Deutsche Reichstagsacten*, i., 94 A.

‡ Spoleto.

§ Gregorius XI. . . . de mense septembris perdidit oppidum sancti Lupidii in Marchia . . . et oppidum s. Mariæ in Giorgio et oppidum Serræ. *Spec. hist. Sozomeni Pistor. in Muratori, Script. xvi., 1103.* See Buoninsegni, 591.

proxime preteriti nec non quamcumque aliam tibi possibilem, ultra quomodocumque non differas destinare, procurans cum ingenti ferventique ac etiam importuna instantia tam apud reginalem celsitudinem et comitem camerarium quam alibi, quod census residuum in instanti nativitate domini vel citius habeatur, ac de cleri subsidio quidquid poteris adunare; nam modicum adhuc erunt hæc omnia, profluviiis debitorum et expensarum attentis.

Cæturum accepimus, quod Florentini, multos pannos magnasque mercancias Barulum* et Manfredoniam deferri fecerunt, et in regno quod immediate tenetur ab ecclesia plus quam quacunque parte mundi facta sua cum favoribus exequentur, quod est valde absurdum audire. Quare procures cum sollicitudine quod bona huiusmodi et quævis Florentinorum alia capiantur omnino et nostri processus realiter exequantur.† Videretur autem nobis expediens, quod ille frater pro publicatione dictorum processuum destinatus ad executionem dictarum mercanciarum celeriter mitteretur. Rursus intelleximus, quod contra Robertum de Capua, eo quod tamquam obedientiæ filius prosequitur Florentinos et processus eosdem exequitur, regina turbata est, de quo non sufficimus admirari pariter et turbari, et præsertim quod spretis censura ecclesiastica et sententiis tam gravibus, ipsa vasalla peculiaris ecclesiæ, neglecto insuper iuramento, matris suæ favere velit notoriis inimicis; super quibus studio ferventi procures remedium celeriter

* Barletta, commonly called "Barolum" in the Middle Ages (see for example Muratori, iii., 495; xxi., 43), now an inconsiderable port with about twenty-seven thousand inhabitants.

† The Queen of Naples had at first taken harsh measures against the Florentines. See the complaint of the Republic to the Queen, dated 1376, Aug. 15, in Gherardi, viii., 1, 273, n. 292; afterwards she endeavoured to reconcile Florence with Gregory XI. See *Salutat. Epist. ed. Rigacc. i., 82-83, 166.*

adhiberi, omnino faciens quod nullus interveniat in supradicta pecunia quam tocius destinanda defectus, si nobis cupias in aliquo complacere.

Datum Rome die xxvi., decembris.

Cop. Aix. Méjanes Library, Cod. 915, f. 363-364.

9. *Pope Gregory XI. to Cardinal de Lagrange and the Archbishop of Narbonne.**

[1378] March 2, Rome.

Dilecto filio Joanni tit sti Marcelli presb. cardinali et venerabili fratri Joanni archiepiscopo Narbonnensi, sedis apostolicæ nunciis. Gregorius, etc. Dilecte fili ac venerabilis frater.

Mirari cogimur, unde ista partē processerint, quæ scripsistis vobis relata fuisse, nam ista civitas a nostro recessu citra in tanta quiete fuit continue sic unquam, nullo novitatis alicuius indicio; sed per quosdam malivolos ista vobis ad incussionem timoris fore suggesta credimus, ut vel pacem† impediunt vel declinent ad pacta eis forsitan graviora. Est autem verum, quod quidam Antonius de Malavoltis de certo tractatu suspectus, pro ut ante vestrum recessum potuistis audivisse, captus et detentus, tandem plurimos accusavit. Lucas autem de nocte fugit, quod credimus pro meliori fuisse. Populus vero dicti Antonii confessione percepta unanimi consensu voluit, quod iustitia fieret de eodem, pro ut est factum, nam palam et publice nullo quocunque

* See *supra* p. 116. Regarding Cardinal de Lagrange, see Duchesne, *Hist. des card. françois*, i., 645 *et seq.*; ii., 467. The Archbishop of Narbonne was Gregory's nephew, Jean Roger; see Baluze i., 830 *et seq.*; ii., 778; and *Gallia Christ.* vi. (Paris. 1739), 94-95. Martinus de Salva, Bishop of Pampeluna, was sent with the Cardinal and Archbishop by the Pope; see *Gallia Christ. loc. cit.*; *Salutat. Epist.* ii., 135, and Baluze i., 1156.

† MS.: partem.

exorto rumore tulit sententiam capitalem;* nos autem divina suffragante clementia prosperæ quietudinis amenitate gaudemus, vos attente rogantes, ut omni turbatione concepta et animorum fluctuacione depositis nobis commissum negotium inconcussis mentibus prosequamini diligenter, progressus vero ac successura quælibet nobis assidue rescribentes.

Datum Romæ die 2, martii.

Cop. Aix. Méjanes Library, Cod. 915, f. 914-915.

10. *Cristoforo di Placenza to Lodovico II. di Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua.*†

[1378] April 9, Rome.

Mag^{ce} d^{ne} mi, recommendacione premissa. Significo dominationi vestre, prout alias scripsi,‡ quod die xxvii. mensis marcii dominus papa Gregorius migravit ab hoc seculo, et die octava mensis aprilis domini cardinales bonitate et industria Romani populi elegerunt in papam dominum Bartholomeum archiepiscopum Barensen§ de

* I have only found the following notices regarding the conspiracy, which is not mentioned by the modern historians of Rome, (Papencordt, Gregorovius, and Reumont :) (1) Colluccio Salutato probably alludes to it in the following words taken from a letter addressed to Sir John Hawkwood, and dated Florence, 4 March, 1377 (resp. 1378) (ed. Rigaccius, ii., 146): "Summus Pontifex indiget gentibus pro discordia quam nuper cum Romanis habet." (2.) In the rare work of Pompeo Pellini, *Dell' Historia di Perugia*, P. 1, Venetia, 1664, of which I made use in the National Library at Florence, there is, f. 1206, a somewhat more ample account, but it is impossible to substantiate its details.

† See *supra*, p. 121.

‡ *Despatch, dated Rome, xxviii. marcii [1378]: "Die sabati vigesima septima presentis mensis dominus noster migravit de hoc seculo circa tertiam horam noctis." *Loc. cit.*

§ 1377, April 14—1378, according to Gams, 856.

civitate Neapolitana condescensum, utriusque juris doctorem, in agibilibus mundi valde expertum, virum de quo certe ecclesie sancte dei bene provisum; plura propter nuncii frequentiam non scribo, sed facta coronacione sua omnia, que intervenerunt, dominacioni vestre seriusus scribere curabo.

Datum Rome nono aprilis.

[*In verso* :]

Servitor vester Cristoforus de Placentia, in curia procurator. Mag^{co} potenti d^{no} suo d^{no} Ludovico de Gonzaga d^{no} Mantue.

Original at Mantua. Gonzaga Archives, E xxv., 3., fasc. 7.

II. *Cristoforo di Piacenza to Lodovico II. di Gonzaga Lord of Mantua.**

[1378] April 12, Rome.

Mag^{ce} d^{ne} mi, recommendacione premissa. Significo dominacioni vestre, quod postquam vobis scripseram die nona presentis mensis, quod habebamus papam Italicum,† eademet die circa vigesimam secundam horam illius diei domini cardinales dederunt sibi [*sic*] nomen, et vocatur Urbanus sextus, nam primo vocabatur Bartholomæus et eadem [*sic*] archiepiscopus Barensis, regens cancellariam domini pape loco domini cardinalis Pampilonensis,‡ qui vicecancellarius est; et bene credo, quod habetis papam, qui vos diligit, et reddo me certum, quod ecclesia sancta

* See *supra*, p. 121.

† The Italian Nationality of the new Pope was also immediately proclaimed by Colluccio Salutato. See his letters of the 20th April and 6th May, in the edition of Rigaccius, ii., 161 and 167. In the first of these he writes: "Considerantes divinam providentiam ordinasse, quod in apostolica sede surrexit vir iustus et a sanguine Italico nullatenus alienus," etc.

‡ Pierre de Montéruc, Cardinal under Innocent VI., †1385. Ciacconius, ii., 534-535.

dei bene gubernabitur, et audeo dicere quod sunt C anni et ultra ex quibus ecclesia sancta dei non habuit similem pastorem.* Nam iste non habet attinentes, et est multum amicus domine regine,† expertus in agibilibus mundi, sagax et prudens, et firmiter in die pasce coronabitur in sancto Petro,‡ et equitabit per terram usque ad sanctum Johanem de Laterano et ibi pernoctabit,§ nam Romani omnes indifferenter summe cōgratulantur de urbe, que suum sponsum recuperavit. Mittatis ambaxiatores vestros cicius quam poterit ad exhibendam sibi debitam reverentiam, nam dominus Octo reversus est. . . . Datum Rome xii. aprilis.

Servitor vester Cristoforus de Placentia, in curia procurator

Original in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. E. xxv., 3, fasc. 1.

12. *Cristoforo di Piacenza to Lodovico II. di Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua.*||

[1378] June 24, Rome.

Mag^{ce} d^{no} mi, recommendacione premissa. Significo dominationi vestre, me recepissee vestras graciosas litteras continentes, ut de statu curie nova significare vellem, ad quarum tenorem breviter respondeo, quod mortuo domino

* See *supra*, p. 121. That Cristoforo was by no means singular in hoping great things from the new Pope is evident from a passage in a MS. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (T. 4, de schism., p. 80) given by Raynaldus, ad an. 1378, n. 15.

† Joanna of Naples.

‡ The Coronation took place at St. Peter's, on the 18th April (see Niem, i., 3), not "in ecclesia s. Joannis Lateranensis," as the passage from Cod. lat. Monac., 150, cited by Döllinger, Beiträge, iii., 359, has it. The Pope was crowned "in capite scalarum S. Petri;" see Gatticus, 366.

§ See Phillips, v., 2, 897 *et seq.*

|| See *supra*, p. 126.

Gregorio et assumpto domino Urbano sexto ad apicem apostolatus scripsi dominationi vestre de modo sue assumptionis et qualiter concorditer nemine discrepante fuit electus et in die pasce resurrectionis cum maximis solaciis et multitudine populi fuit coronatus omnibus cardinalibus ibidem existentibus et per terram secum equitantibus, et post predictas litteras lacius scripsissem de hiis, que occurrerunt, nisi [impeditus] fuisse [m] propter defectum nuntiorum illuc attendencium, quibus post guerras inceptas in partibus illis multum carni. Et post coronacionem per ipsum assumptam voluit habere dominos Hugonem* et Thomam† fratres de Sancto Severino, comitem Nolanum‡ et dominum Nicolaum de Neapoli§ in suos consiliares, et secundum consilium istorum se regebat et regit, licet in primordio sui apostolatus fuerit valde durus et precipue dominis cardinalibus; sed incipit innovare mores, subsequenter bullam aperuit, et adhuc est aperta, duratura

* See Baluze, i., 1124 *et seq.*

† See *ibid.*, i., 1470 *et seq.*, and Muratori, Script., iii., 2, 726 Gregorovius, vi., 3rd ed., 482 *et seq.* Regarding the Sanseverino family, see Erasmo Ricca, La Nobiltà del Regno delle Due Sicilie, Parte I.: Istoria de' Feudi del Regno delle Due Sicilie di quà dal Faro, 1859 *et seq.* (Also Reumont's Report in the Augsburger Allgem. Zeitung, 1867, N. 94, Supplement.)

‡ Niccolò Orsini. See Baluze, i., 1206, 1208, 1286; Reumont, iii., 1, 40, and Litta, fasc. lxii.

§ Niccolò Spinelli, the celebrated jurist, Chancellor to Joanna, Queen of Naples. Although a native of Giovenazzo, he was generally known as "Nicolaus de Neapoli;" see Baluze, i., 1455; Giannone, iii., 156. The above passage throws some light on the obscure history of the differences between Joanna and Urban VI.; but their real origin can only be cleared up by the discovery of further documents. Spinelli soon became one of the most violent opponents of the Pope, and a chief promoter of the Schism. See Tommaseo, iv., 211.

usque ad medium mensem augusti, et omnibus pauperibus gratiam volentibus fecit et facit, ideo quod omnium ecclesiasticorum de omnibus nacionibus mundi maximus concursus est in urbe. Subsequenter ex parte omnium dominorum Ytalie recepit visitationem et cottidie visitatur per plures dominos magis longinquos. Sunt eciam hic omnes ambaxiatores pro parte lige pro pace tractanda,* et speratur quod pax erit, quoniam dominus noster ad ipsam multum anhelat et pars adversa similiter, et credo quod quicquid circa predicta debebit fieri, cito terminabitur. A modicis diebus circa domini cardinales ultramontani novis captatis excusationibus et coloribus receperunt licentiam a domino nostro, dubitantes de ayere estivo,† pro eundo Anagniam, et dominus noster graciose eis concessit, et a modico tempore citra videtur, quod ipsi assumpserint spem rebellionis erga ipsum, propter quod, ut dicitur, dominus noster ipsos fecit citari, ut certa die mensis julii debeant in civitate Tiburtina, que distat ab urbe per miliaria XV, ubi tunc dominus noster propter calores estivos erit, se apostolico conspectu [i] comparere. Quid fiat, ignoro, sed speratur, quod omnia sedabuntur. Quid fiet circa premissa, dominacioni vestre intimare procurabo ‡

Postquam presentem litteram vestre dominacioni scripseram, dominus noster papa accepit litteras ab illis cardinalibus, qui sunt in Avinione, multum congratulantibus de felici promotione sua, et ultra hoc miserunt nepotem domini cardinalis Pampilonensis et unum alium episcopum rogando ipsum, ut velit scribere, quid facturi sint. Datum Rome xxiv. junii.

* See Gherardi, v., 2, 121 *et seq* ; viii., 1, 291 *et seq*.

† See Niem, i., 7.

‡ The passage omitted refers to the nomination to an Abbey.

Servitor vester Cristoforus de Placentia.*

Original at Mantua. Gonzaga Archives, E. xxv., 3, fasc. 1.

13. *Giovanni di Lignano on Pope Urban VI.*†

*Tractatus de electione, inthronisatione et coronatione
Urbani VI:*

... Item quod præfatus ss^{mus} in Christo pater et dominus noster, dominus Urbanus PP. VI. tanquam verus, sanctus et iustus et qui semper volebat et voluit iustitiam tenere et servare et servari facere, crimina et vitia vitare, extirpare ac vitari et extirpari facere, maxime crimen nefandum symoniæ, quo crimine sine infamia hominum Romana curia quandoque consuevit habundare, ac etiam volens, quod negotia quæ coram eo deducerentur ac tractarentur, pure, libere et gratis ac sine receptione munerum tractarentur et expedirentur, maxime per cardinales, qui propter reverentiam et culmen dignitatis suæ debent esse ceteris iustiores et sanctiores ac ceteris viris ecclesiasticis et aliis bene vivendi speculum in se ipsis ostendere. Ipse namque dominus noster papa præfatis cardinalibus et multis aliis palam ac publice et etiam in secreto et sæpe ac sæpius et iteratis vicibus dixit, asseruit et protestatus fuit, mentem suam et animum suum super hoc expresse declarando, quod

* Other historically important letters from Cristoforo di Piacenza are unfortunately not to be found in the Mantua Archives. In the fasciculus (i.), containing letters from 1366-1399, are, with the above letters from Cristoforo, nine from Giacomo della Campana (Jacobus della Campana), written in 1388 and the following years. There is another interesting Report from Cristoforo to Lodovico di Gonzago, dated Avignon (1376), July 17, in the State Archives at Milan. Osio (i., 181-183) has published this; see also Gottlob, 116, note 2.

† See *supra*, p. 124, and Höfler, *Aus Avignon*, 10. Chevalier, *Rép.* 1203, gives an account of the different works concerning Lignano.

ipse non intendebat sustinere, quod per symoniam vel lucrum aliquid coram eo tractaretur vel ab eo obtineretur per cardinales vel aliquem alium ; et quod ipse non audiret nec admitteret nec exaudiret aliquem, quem haberet suspectum de symonia vel alio lucro illicito, nec placebat nec placeret ei, quod cardinalis aliquis reciperet pensiones, provisiones, exenia vel lucra illicita aliqua a quibusvis personis, quia quando recipiunt vel sperant lucra aliqua, negotia ecclesiæ male procedunt. Et quod ipse dominus noster sciebat, quod hactenus in tractatibus, qui fiebant inter ecclesiam et inimicos ecclesiæ propter talia lucra, quæ recipiebant vel sperabant tractatores, qui debebant esse de parte ecclesiæ, ipsi tractatus male procedebant pro ecclesia, imo fuerunt impediti ita, quod ecclesia non potuit cum suis inimicis habere pacem, quam desiderabat et ipse dominus noster semper desideravit et desiderat. Et quod non placebat nec placeret ipsi domino nostro, quod tales tractatores in contra ipsis tractibus et negotiis se ingererent vel immiscerent. Ipseque dominus noster alia salubria monita sæpe ac sæpius et iteratis vicibus iisdem cardinalibus ad reformationem bonorum suorum et iustitiæ ac boni ac salubris status ecclesiæ dicebat et dixit. Et insuper etiam sæpe et sæpius dixit et publicavit, quod cum sedes sua Romana et apostolica sic et esse debeat ex institutione divina in urbe Roma, intentio sua erat, fuit, est et esset in eadem urbe ut plurimum residentiam facere et etiam ibidem, quando deo placeret, mori intendebat, et quodsi aliter faceret, reputaret se male agere.

Copy in Cod. 269, f. 234, Eichstätt Library.

14. *Roman Documents regarding the Papal Schism
of the year 1378.*

The Roman collections of Manuscripts, which are rich in documents concerning the great Schism of 1378, have been far less thoroughly investigated than those of Paris. The

accomplishment of such investigation does not fall within the scope of my present work, but I think that a few notices regarding certain documents which attracted my attention while I was pursuing my researches in Rome may not be unwelcome to future students.

By far the most important documents regarding the great Schism are preserved in the secret Archives of the Vatican in Arm. liv., *n.* 14-39. This collection, entitled "De schismate Urbani VI.," refers chiefly to the beginning of that Schism; Raynaldus, and afterwards Bzovius (see xv., 13), and Marini in the second volume of his "Archiatrì," have made use of it. I copied from N. 17 (Vol iv. "De schismate Urbani VI.") the Report of Bishop Nicholas of Viterbo, from which I have repeatedly quoted, and I intend by-and-bye to publish it in its entirety; I may here give the passage containing the Cardinal d'Aigrefeuille's declaration in favour of the validity of Urban VI.'s election: * "Ivi ad dom. card. de Agrifolio et supplicavi, quod diceret mihi veritatem pro salute anime mee, quia non intendebar adorare tamquam vicarium Jesu Christi non vicarium Jesu Christi, et de hoc protestabar tamquam in die iudicii mihi redderet rationem. Ipse autem respondidit mihi: vide non dubites, quia pro certo a tempore S. Petri citra non sedit aliquis in sede sua magis iuste quam iste. Ideo male facis tantum tardare."

The Vatican Library also contains a large number of documents concerning the great Schism. I noted the following as particularly worthy of attention: Codd. Vatic. 4039, 4153, 4192, 4896, 4943, 5607, 5608 (f. 119-131 are the "Consilium pro Urbano VI." by Barth. de Saliceto*), also Cod. D. i. 20 of the Casanatense Library, of which I shall speak more fully elsewhere. It may be observed that

* Regarding Saliceto see Fantuzzi, Scritt. Bologn. (Bologna, 1789), vii., 272-279; and Valentinelli, ii., 285 *et seq.*

the **“Dialogus de tollendo schismate”* in Cod. 44 G. f. 1-7 of St. Peter's Library, to which I have referred *supra*, pp. 145 and 173, is identical with that mentioned by Labbé and Fabricius (iii., 294). Its author, Giovanni di Spoleto, was Professor at Bologna in 1394; see Mazzetti, Rep. prof. Bol. (1847), 1567. The work is addressed: “Ad rev. in Christo patrem et dom. dom. Jacobum de Altovitis de Florentia episcop. Fesulanum” (1390-1409; see Gams, 749 and Chevalier, 89). The passage quoted *supra* p. 173, runs as follows (f. 4) · **“Immoratum tam diu scisma per tot iam lustra que dispendia dederit, quot inde nocumenta provenerint scandala, depopulationes, ruine, fluctuationes, inconvenientia, turbines cum tecum examinando consideraveris ex adverso statim videbis que sancta possint ex unione commoda resultare. Illinc dissensionum omnium radix fuit, tumultus varii, dissensiones regnorum, seditiones, extortiones, excidia, violentie, bella, tyrannidis incrementum, libertatis pesundatio, malefactorum impunitas, simultates, error, infamia, furentibus ferro et ignilatus concessa licentia. Hinc (si tamen succedet unionis bonum) concordia, libertas,”* etc. Besides that in St. Peter's Library, another MS. copy of this dialogue was, according to the catalogue, preserved in the Borghese Library, Rome (Scr. ii., N. 57), but in the spring of 1884 it was no longer to be found there.

15. *Langenstein's “Invectiva contra monstrum Babylonis”* (1393).*

This poem is identical with the “Carmen pro pace,” published by H. von der Hardt, in 1715, at Helmstedt, from a MS. in the Wolfenbüttel Library. I was not able to gain access to this rare edition, and accordingly quoted from a MS. in the University Library at Breslau (Cod. 320, f. 92-103), of which, by the kind intervention of

* See *supra*, p. 141.

Professor Laemmer, I obtained a copy. The edition printed by von der Hardt is moreover incomplete; it begins, according to Hartwig (ii., 33), with the words "Vivens non vivens," that is with v. 65 of the Breslau MS. The copy of the *Invectiva* in Cod. 3214, f. 80b-91b of the Court Library at Vienna is also incomplete; concluding at v. 640 of the Breslau MS; Cod. 3219 of the Court Library at Vienna, which unfortunately I was not able to examine as minutely as I wished to do, appears to me to give a more complete and, in some ways, a better text than the Breslau MS. A third copy of the "*Invectiva*" is to be found in the Vienna Court Library (see Denis, i., 460), and is interesting as containing a dedication to Eckhard von Dersch, Bishop of Worms. This dedication also occurs in a copy of the "*Invectiva*" in the University Library at Würzburg (Cod. Mch. f. 53, fol. 163a-169a). I am not able to say what has become of the MS. of the "*Invectiva*" cited by Pez (Thes. anecd., i., 1, p. lxxix.). Another copy of the poem is (see Archiv, xi., 725,) in Cod. 5 of the Amplonian Library at Erfurt. Lorenz (Geschichtsquellen, ii., 2nd ed., 212, note 2) seems to consider this Erfurt MS. as distinct from the Breslau work; but the similarity of the opening words leaves little room for doubt that it is really identical.

16. *Acta consistorialia in the Archivio Concistoriale and the Secret Archives of the Vatican.*

Besides the celebrated Secret Archives, the Archives of the ancient Dataria, of the Rota and the Signatura Gratæ,* the Vatican Palace contains another Archive full of most valuable historical matter, which as yet has scarcely been turned to any account; this is the Archivio Concistoriale, whose entrance is in the Cortile di San. Damaso. Its precious collection of MSS. is of a strictly private cha-

* See Gottlob in the *Histor. Jahrbuch*, vi., 272.

racter, and is under the direct charge of the Cardinal Secretary of State. Few have yet been fortunate enough to obtain access to its treasures.*

The importance of the Archivio Concistoriale is evident, if we consider that the Consistory is a solemn gathering of the Cardinals around the Pope for the purpose of deliberation with regard to the final sanction of certain very weighty ecclesiastical affairs, or of performing some act of special gravity.†

The Archivio Concistoriale owes its origin to Urban VIII., the same Pope who devoted special attention to the Secret Archives of the Vatican. By the Bull "Admonet nos," dated Rome, "1625, xviii., Cal. Jan. Anno. pontif. 3°." of which I saw in the Consistorial Archives a copy printed in Rome in the year 1626, on a broadsheet, he directed that Archives should be established for the reception of the Acts of the Sacred College. In course of time the Consistorial Archives seem to have fallen into oblivion, and are not at present in the best possible order; it is, however, to be hoped that His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. will bring about an improvement in this particular. The documents are placed in fifteen large wooden chests, fourteen of which are numbered;‡ an Armarium which stands at the left of the entrance has no special mark; in it will

* Brady, i., p. vii. : "These latter Archives are strictly private; admission is rarely applied for, and still more rarely granted."

† See Bangen, *Die Römische Curie*, 75 *et seq.* Phillips, vii., 288 *et seq.*; Gatticus, 88, 199, 247, 251; and Moroni, xv., 187 *et seq.* The principal work on the Consistory is that of Cardinal Palaeoti: "De sacri consistorii consultationibus," Roma, 1592.

‡ I have endeavoured, as far as time permitted, to form at least an approximate estimate of the number of volumes in the different chests. The following summary may give at least a general idea of the arrangement and the contents of the Archives: Arm. i. and ii., c^a 90 vols.; Processus ecclesiarum from 1564 to c^a 1700;

be found a rich collection of Acts of Conclaves, of which I shall speak hereafter, as they do not refer to the period dealt with in the present volume.

The late foundation of these Archives explains the fact that the *Acta Consistorialia* only begin with the year 1409,* and are imperfect. Some volumes I have been assured were made away with by the French. In general the volumes referring to the fifteenth century are not the Original *Acta Consistorialia*, but copies made in the time of Urban VIII. and Innocent X., and are not free from clerical errors. The original Acts begin with the year 1517,

Arm. iii. and iv., c^a. 100 vols.; *Processus ecclesiarum*, coming down to 1792; Arm. v., c^a. 30 vols.; *Processus*, and also c^a. 20 vols. *Juramenta fidelitatis et profess. fidei*; Arm. vi., c^a. 30 vols.; *Præconia et propositiones* (beginning with the seventeenth century; also some few of the time of Julius III.; and a series of official Reports regarding ecclesiastical matters, especially in Germany, in the seventeenth century, some of which are very interesting and go into the minutest details), *Processus ecclesiarum* of the eighteenth century, c^a. 30 vols.; Arm. vii., *Acta consistorialia* from 1589 to 1717, c^a. 85 vols.; the contents of Arm. viii. were inaccessible to me as the key would not act; it probably contains the Consistorial Acts from 1717 to 1772; Arm. ix., *Acta consist.* from 1772 to 1817, c^a. 60 vols.; Arm. x., *Acta consist.* from 1409 to 1701 (some are wanting), c^a. 50 vols.; Arm. xi. *Acta consist.* from 1523 to 1798 (some wanting), c^a. 60 vols.; Arm. xii., *Acta consist.* from 1529 to 1700 (some wanting), c^a. 110 vols. (also some volumes of a miscellaneous nature); Arm. xiii. and xix. contain no proper Consistorial Acts, and accordingly I did not further investigate them. Such was the arrangement in the spring of 1884, when I worked in these Archives and drew up the above notices in the midst of difficulties and hindrances of all kinds. If the notice is incomplete, the shortness of the time allowed me must account for its deficiencies; I think, however, that even in its imperfect state it will be welcome to many, as the first which has yet been given of very important Archives.

* Not with Calixtus, iii., as Gottlob asserts.

and were written under the immediate supervision of the Vice-Chancellor of the day. The first volume of this valuable collection, which at the period of my investigations was placed in Armarium xi., bears the title: "*Rerum consistorialium Leone X. et Adriano VI. pontificibus maximis expeditarum per me Julium de Medicis S. R. E. Vicecancell.*" It extends from March, 1517, to September, 1523. The same Armarium contains the original Consistorial Acts of the time of Paul III. and Paul IV., from which I intend to give extracts in a future volume of this work, and also two volumes of the following transcripts made in the days of Innocent X.:

1. Acta consistorialia ab a^o 1517 die ix. mensis martii coram Leone X., Hadriano VI., Clemente VII. et Paulo III. summis Romanis pontificibus usque ad diem xvii Aug. Aⁱ 1548 ex authenticis libris Card. Vice-Cancellarii, Pars prima T. I (ancient signature, Cⁱ 3343).

2. Acta consistorialia ab a^o 1548 ad 1585 ex authenticis libris Card. Vice-Cancellarii. Pars secunda. T. II (ancient signature, Cⁱ 3344).

The last collection brings us down to a period from which a great number of Consistorial Acts have been preserved. This is due to the fact that from the sixteenth century the Cardinals made collections of Consistorial Acts for their own private use, and accordingly almost all the Roman libraries as well as the MS. Collections of Florence, Bologna, Pistoja and Paris possess documents of this kind which in some cases are very numerous. In the Barberini Library there are no less than eighty-one volumes of such Acts. Laemmer, in his most valuable publication,* and Brady (ii., 251 *et seq.*) have given many extracts from these sources, and in the course of the following volumes I

* *Analecta Rom.* 84-85. *Zur Kirchengeschichte*, 26, 71-75, 136-140.

shall often make use of the extensive transcripts from them in my possession.*

The most precious, because the most ancient, of the *Acta consistorialia* are stored up in Armarium X. My attention was in the first place directed to the exploration of these valuable materials, but the publication of the extracts I have made from them must be for the present deferred; they will, however, appear in my projected collection of documents. The first volume of the collection in Armarium X., is bound in red leather and consists of 246 pages; it bears the title: "*Acta consistorialia ab anno 1409 ad 1433. Alex. V., Joh. XXIII., Martino V., Eugenio IV. pontif.*" The ancient signature is somewhat illegible; "C¹ 3029" or "3028," indicating that these documents and those which we have mentioned as contained in Armarium XI., at one time formed a series. The numbers (3029 and 3343) give us an idea of the extent of the losses sustained by the Consistorial Archives, for, of the intervening documents, I found but one ("*Liber rerum consistorialium Clementis VII. et Pauli III. S. P. C¹ 3035*") in the course of my investigations.

The volume which next comes under our notice has the Signature C¹ 3029, and begins, f. 1, with the following words: "*Liber provisionum sacri collegii A^o 1409.*" Besides the nominations of Bishops, which would be of the greatest use in a new edition of Gams' "*Series Episcoporum*," it gives the exact dates of the election and death of the Popes, and of the departures of individual Cardinals and their return to the Court, notes the appointment of the most important Legates and the deaths of members of the Sacred College. Here and

* Brady (I., p. xvii., *et seq.*) gives valuable information regarding the "*Formatari, Obbligazioni*," etc., now kept in the Roman State Archives. The extracts which he has made relate solely to the Bishoprics of Great Britain.

there a hiatus occurs, but in general the arrangement is chronologically exact. The writer gives his name f. 86b as *Johannes Constantinopolitanus*.* A good index facilitates the use of this work, which unfortunately breaks off at the third year of the Pontificate of Eugenius IV. The quotations at pp. 49, 191, 211, 213, 229, 262, 274, 275, 277, of the foregoing text are from this volume. Brady must be understood to speak of the Consistorial Acts of the fifteenth rather than of those of the sixteenth century when he says, "It should be remembered, however, that Consistories are meetings where business is transacted rather than discussed. The Consistorial Acts are not reports of debates or summaries of political speeches. It is but seldom that the Pontiffs' or the Cardinals' opinions are recorded. The Acts are virtually a register of Consistorial decrees, and do not profess to furnish even a summary of the facts of contemporaneous history, on which they were based."

The next volume begins with the year 1489 and concludes with 1503. *Armarius X.* contains a series of volumes concerning this period and subsequent years, but all my earnest endeavours to find among them one dealing with the time between 1433 and 1489 were in vain. My first idea that the deficiency might be supplied from the Secret Archives of the Vatican seemed to be without foundation, for I was here informed by the officials that their great collection of *Acta Consistorialia* began with 1517. After convincing myself of the correctness of this assertion† I did not let the matter drop, and my researches were at last

* For an account of him see *Catalanus*, 24.

† The first of about a hundred volumes of Consistorial Acts in the Secret Archives of the Vatican extends from 1517 to 1534. Brady has not made use of this collection nor of the Consistorial Acts from 1439 to 1486, of which I shall speak.

crowned with success, for in *Armarius XXXI.*, volume 52, I discovered the Consistorial Acts from 1439 to 1486, and thus the most serious gap was filled up. The Acts in question commence at p. 15 of volume 52, and are without any superscription. Clerical errors and gaps abound, and they appear to have been extracted from a larger register. A certain "Jacobus Radulfi dicti (S. R. E. cardin.) collegii clericus" speaks of himself as the scribe. In his biography of Nicholas V., Georgius often quotes: "Ephemerides sacri consistorii per Jac. Radulphi scriptæ. MSS. in Tabul. Vatic." A number of variations show our MS. to be distinct from that employed by Georgius, which, it is much to be desired, may come to light. The following citations in my work are taken from the above-mentioned *Acta Consistorialia*, of which I shall make further use in Vol. ii.

17. *The Jubilee of the year 1423.**

Opinions are greatly divided, not only regarding the year of this Jubilee, but as to the question whether a Jubilee was really celebrated in the time of Martin V. Gregorovius makes no mention of such an occurrence, Platner (*Tabellen der Gesch. Roms* [47]) and Reumont (iii., 1; p. 169) consider it doubtful. Manni (57) also leaves the matter undecided. But the express testimony of Niccola della Tuccia (52, 117) certainly proves a Jubilee to have taken place in the time of Martin V. Moroni (ii., 111-112) supports the assertion, but he is mistaken in supposing that the pilgrims to Rome on the occasion were few. The grounds for the celebration are given by Franc. Maria Febbi in what is, I believe, an unpublished treatise on the Jubilees from Boniface VIII. to Innocent X. He says (f. 44a): "Martinus V., ut constat litteris Pauli II. 'Ineffabilis providentia' dat. an. 1470. xiii., Cal. Mai. Pont. 6º. §5 reductionem Urbani VI. ratam habuit . . . et anno quolibet trigesimo tertio jubilæum observari

* See *supra*, p. 232.

debere voluit, prout an. 1423 ad effectum deduci permisit, eaque observata extitit, multis ad urbem concurrentibus eo quod pax et tranquillitas universim esset, tantaque frumenti ac rerum ubertate et abundantia ut onus tritrici obolis viginti, ordeï duodecim distraheretur." F. 45a: "In idem vero prorsus collinant assertiones Sixti IV. et Julii III. in diplomatibus indictionis jubilei et Victorellus parte 2^a in hist. 12 jubil. pag. 257, qui tamen fassus est, constitutionem Martini V., qua jubileum indixerat, se in Archivio Vaticano nullatenus adinvenire." *Cod. Capponi 244 of the Vatican Library. See also the testimony of Poggio and Niccola della Tuccia on p. 232. The latter writer mentions 1425 and in another place 1404 (52, 117) as the year of the Jubilee. I incline to agree with Bonanni (25), Vittorelli (257), and O. Ricci,* who hold that it was 1423. According to Fiala (493, Note), F. Hemmerlin also states that Martin V. appointed a Jubilee year; 1425 is given as the date. That the proclamation of a Jubilee was expected in the time of Martin V. is evident from Voigt, Stimmen, 138, and from the Epistola di Alberto degli Albizzi, 23-24.

18. *Pope Martin V. to Charles of Bourbon, Count of Clermont.*†

[2427] Rome.

Martinus dilecto f [ilio] nobili viro Carolo de Borbonio, comiti Claromontis salutem etc. Non videmus, quare tibi amplius scribere vel si scribimus, quare te dilectum filium appellare debeamus, intellecta obstinata duritia cordis tui in detinendo ven. fratrem nostrum Martinum episcopum Claromontensem, cancellarium Franciæ, quem paternis hortationibus, precibus et mandatis nostris admonitus, et sicut accepimus per litteras carissimi in Christo filii nostri

* De' Giubilei universali celebrati negli anni santi (Roma, 1675), 52.

† See *supra*, p. 238.

Caroli Francorum regis illustris et ab aliis fide dignis, requisitus instanter atque rogatus trina legatione solemnī prædicti regis et litteris ac nuntiis plurium aliorum principum ac baronum, communitatum et ecclesiarum ac personarum ecclesiasticarum, dimittere noluisti et restituere pristinæ libertati, sed verba das omnibus dilatoria, studens exquisitis coloribus excusare delictum tuum, in quo adhuc obstinato animo perseveras, propter quod excommunicatus iure debes de fidelium consortio segregari nec noster et ecclesiæ filius nuncupari. Sed charitas nostra vincit iniquitatem tuam, et te adhuc filium nominamus nec volumus te inter perditos deputare, sed optamus potius lucrari animam tuam deo et famam tuam reddere honestam mundo, sperantes in domino, qui inspirat sancta consilia, quod gratiam nobis dabit reductionis et pœnitentiæ tuæ et liberationis ipsius episcopi, quem de manu tua quærimus, præcipientes tibi in virtute fidelis obedientiæ, qua teneris nobis, si christianus es, vicario Jesu Christi, præcipue cum agatur de liberatione christorum suorum, quos exemptos esse voluit a potestate laicorum, quatenus prædictum episcopum statim restituas propriæ libertati nec in expectatione nos teneas excusationis tuæ, dicendo quod per oratores tuos facies nos contentos, quos audituri non sumus, nisi eodem episcopo liberato per te fuerit requisitioni nostræ obtemperatum, sicut nostro et ecclesiæ honori convenit et animæ tuæ saluti. Et super omnia diligenter caveas, ne quid attemptes in personam eius, tibi que ita præcipimus sub ira dei et pœna indignationis nostræ perpetuæ ac anathematis ceterisque pœnis, quæ sunt a iure divino et humano contra contemnentes talia constitutæ. Et si aliquid attemptares in eum (quod avertat deus) tibi prædicimus, quod a nobis nunquam obtinebis absolvi, dum in apostolica sede sedebimus, sed cum tota clavium auctoritate et potentia contra te pro tanto scelere procedemus. Datum Romæ.

Copy in Borghese Library, Rome. Cod. i., 75 and 76, f. 81.

19. *Cardinal Antonio Correr* to Florence.*†

[1431] Feb. 20, Rome.

Magnifici et potentes domini priores. Licet multis diebus superioribus quædam fama publica hic in urbe sermo factus fuerit de ambigua vita sanct^{mi} domini nostri papæ, attamen non determinavimus magnificentiam vestram per has nostras notum facere, nisi de re firma et quæ in nulla dubietate consistat. Uno enim mense et pluri cum prædictus dominus noster passus graviter fuisset, postea visus fuit aliqualem convalescentiam recuperare. Postremo die lunæ proximo præterito pro collegio cardinalium misit, quibus pauca verba generalia protulit; qui iudicatus est ab omnibus nobis malum statum habere, non tamen talem, propter quem arbitraremur illum ita subito moriturum. Qui die sequenti, quæ fuit dies martis, circa horam unam diei ex apopletico morbo mortuus est.‡ Quo defuncto ex omnium cardinalium consensu totum collegium eorundem congregatum est, ad quam congregationem

* See our observations on this distinguished man, p. 269. *supra*.

† See *supra*, p. 281.

‡ See Graziani, *Cronica*, 349 ("a doi ore di notte in circa"); the letter of the Cardinals in Fumi, 689; *Vita Martini V.* in Muratori, iii., 2, 868 ("ex apoplexia jam sumto prandio infirmatus est et nocte sequenti paulo ante diem hic beatissimus pater et semper memorandus pontifex Deo animam reddidit"), and the letter of Juan Cervantes, published by Catalanus (175) ("die martis proxime preterita ante diei ortum viam universæ carnis ingressus est"). Infessura is accordingly incorrect in saying that the Pope's death took place "nell'alba del die" (1123), a statement which also occurs in a letter from the Duke of Milan to King Sigismund (in Osio, iii., 6). The mistake of Ciaconius (ii., 819) in regard to the day of Martin V.'s death has been corrected by Papebroch (440).

convenerunt conservatores, capita regionum, mariscalchi omnesque officiales urbis, et se subposuerunt libere mandatis et singulis placitis collegii cardinalium promiseruntque amplissime, hanc urbem se manutenere velle ad omnem obedientiam felicissimi status ecclesiæ. Qui omnes prædicti recepti gratanter fuerunt a collegio prænominato, et versa vice illis promissiones multum grate porrectæ fuerunt. Itemque princeps domini nostri prædicti nepos misit viros venerabiles et cives egregios ad nos, qui pro eius parte polliciti sunt, illum consignaturum castrum s. Angeli et singulas portas huius urbis et omnia alia ecclesiæ fortalitia ad omnem requisitionem collegii in manibus et in omni potestate dicti collegii. Quare pro omnibus nobis supra enarratis certificamus vos, qualiter civitas ista nullam penitus turbationem in morte prædicti pontificis accepit. Quinymo comprehendimus, omnes et singulos cives maxime affectuosos fuisse ad pacificum statum ecclesiæ. Estque ad præsens in tanta pace et tranquillitate, ut qui nemo iudicasset, quod tanta quies esse debuisset.* Ista vobis ita succinte significamus, cum opinemur, ea vos gratissime debere audire, ut consultius vestro statui consulatur. Quodammodo in antea facturi sumus, et quia celebrabimus prædicti papæ exequias, posthac elapso novem dierum numero intrabimus conclave pro futuri pontificis electione, quem ut eligamus pro statu s. eccl. dei convenientissimum, velit v^{ra} magnificentia efficaces preces apud deum porrigi facere. Valet.

Ex urbe die 20 februarii.

[*In verso* :]

Magnif. et potentibus prioribus et vexillif. iustitie communis et populi civitat. Florentin.

Card^{lis} Bononien.

* See on this subject the above-mentioned Letter of Juan Cervantes, dated Rome, 22nd February, in Catalanus, 175-176.

Original in Chigi Library, Rome, Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 128 (Authentic. varia MSS. Senar. ab a° 1077 ad. 1458).

20. *Antonio de Rido to Florence.**

1440, March 19, Rome.

†Jesus. Magnifici ac generosi domini mey, domini ac gubernatores comunitatis Florentie post debitam recommendationem etc. Perche le magnificentie et signorie vostre del caxo nuovamente occorso a Roma non prenda admiratione ho deliberato avixarle per questa chomo monsignor el cardinale legato de N. S. hora fa doy anni et piu, non una volta ma piu con suo versutie et ingani a cerchado con grandissimo detrimento de N^{ro} S. et de s^{ca} eclexia et mia vergogna et dapno de levarme de le mani castelo de s^{co} Agnolo et piu ho cognosudo aptamente et tochado con le mano questui esser expresso nemico de papa Eugenio al quale io ho deliberado et zurado de esser sempre fedelle, onde mosso io da buono amor et zielo porto a la S. Sua et a s^{ca} eclexia, non ho potuto patir che tanta nequitia de questo iniquo huomo aza habuto luoco. Et in effetto lo ho prexo et conduto in chastello de s^{co} Anzolo et qui lo tenero con bona diligentia et guardia a petitione de papa Eugenio per fina che se vedera manifestissimamente li soy pessimi fati et cative deliberatione le qualle chomo la S. de N. S. et le magnificentie vostre havera intexe chiaramente, chomo vedo et intendo io, bene che senza lizentia de N. S. lo habia fato per non haver habuto tempo de notificarlo me rendo zerto haverano grato quello havero fato perche lo ho fato a fin de bene rendandome zerto haver fata chossa che sia acrissimento del stado de N. S. et de s^{ca} eclexia et de li amizi soy. Et etiandio ho fato a luy quello che son

* See *supra*, p. 300. Regarding Rido, see also Reumont, iii., 1, 487, and Arch. d. Soc. Rom., viii., 478, 559; and for a description of his monument, which is still in good preservation, see Adinolfi, i., 404-405; Tosi, tav., 29, gives a figure of it.

zerto et e manifesto voleva far a mi. Datum Rome in chastro s^{cl} Anzeli de urbe die 19 marzii 1440.

Anthonius de Rido castelanus castri s^{cl} Anzeli de urbe, servitor vester minimus (subscripsi).

[*In verso :*]

Magnificis ac generosis dominis meis dominis comunitatis Florentie dominis meis singularissimis.

Original in the State Archives at Florence. Cl. x., Dist. 4, n. 12, f. 114.

21. *Pope Eugenius IV. to Corneto.**

1440, April 3, Florence.

Eugenius P.P. IV. Dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Proximis diebus, intellecto de casu, quem in persona dilecti filii nostri Johannis cardinalis Florentini, apostolicæ sedis legati accidere fecerunt simultates inter prædictum cardinalem et dilectum filium castellaneum nostrum sancti Angeli de Urbe, illico misimus ad Urbem venerabilem fratrem L[udovicum] patriarcham Aquilejensem, camerarium nostrum. Quem cum sit utrique parti amicissimus, speravimus rem ipsam et cito et optime compositurum. Sed cum res ipsa, quemadmodum sæpenumero contingit in aliis quæ sunt magnæ, non potuerat ea, quam, credidimus, celeritate expediri, et merito timendum videatur ne nimis diuturna legati absentia aliquod scandalum aut detrimentum afferre possit in nostris et ecclesiæ rebus; tum etiam, cupientibus nobis atque intendentibus ad prædictam almam Urbem de proximo nos conferre, intelligamus expedire ut loca circumstantia bene disponantur ac multa alia fieri ordinemus, quæ melius commo-

* See *supra*, p. 301. Note x (where the 2nd is to be changed into the 3rd of April); Papencordt, 481, and Gregorovius, VII., 3rd ed. 74, 78, note. I am indebted to the kindness of the Syndic of Corneto for a copy of this letter, which unfortunately I have not been able to collate with the original.

diusque per hunc ipsum camerarium nostrum, cui ejusmodi rerum cura ex officio eminet, quam per alium fieri poterunt; idcirco ipsam opportunam et necessariam pro tempore provisionem facere cupientes, prædictum venerabilem fratrem patriarcham Aquilejensem legatum constituimus in omnibus et per omnia, eo modo et forma, quibus erat prædictus cardinalis Florentinus, quo die fuit detentus. Qui, si etiam non accidisset hic casus, ea legatione diutius uti non intendebat, cum mala detentus valetudine, et ad magnam perductus debilitatem successorem sibi a nobis dari sæpe-numero postulaverit, quem daturi fuimus, jam est mensis, nisi nos continuisset spes accessus nostri ad partes Urbis, quo dictum futurum esse credidimus. Quare mandamus vobis, ut, prædicto camerario prout præfecturæ legato plenariam in cunctis obedientiam præstetis; talem namque viri ipsius virtutem ab longa experientia esse cognoscimus, ut non dubitemus, quin provinciæ et vobis omnibus abunde satisfaciat, et quieti vestræ prudenter consulat; cunctaque alia commisimus dilecto familiari nostro Colequarto vobis referenda, cui debebitis fidem credulitatemque plenariam adhibere. Datum Florentiæ sub anulo nostro secreto die 3^a aprilis, 1440, pontificatus nostri decimo.

BLONDUS.

Archives at Corneto. Cass. C.

22. *Pope Eugenius IV. to Bologna.**

1444, Dec. 9, Rome.

Eugenius papa IV. Dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Credimus devotionibus vestris non incognitum esse, sed longa experientia notissimum, qua prudentia, quibus moribus, qua denique doctrina dilectus filius magister Thomas de Sarzana, electus Bononiensis præditus sit, et quanta cum honestate et gravitate in hanc usque diem vixerit. Cuius viri virtutibus consideratis

* See Vol. ii., Book I., Chap. I.

cupientes aliquem virum honestum, gravem doctum et bonum ac pro instruendis et ad viam salutis dirigendis ovibus sibi commissis aptum et expertum ecclesiæ Bononiensi præficere* desiderantesque ad illam ecclesiam aliquem promovere, et qui dignus successor esset recolendæ memoriæ quondam dilecti filii N[icolai] tituli sanctæ crucis in Jerusalem presbyteri cardinalis et qui merito devotionibus vestris et universo illi populo placere posset : prædictum Thomam omnibus venerabilibus fratribus nostris sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalibus laudantibus et nemine dissidente, approbantibus in consistorio secreto xxvii. præteriti mensis novembris, ad ecclesiam Bononiensem promovimus. Hoc ideo devotionibus vestris significare curavimus, ut gratias deo agere possitis, qui vos tali patre tamque diligenti et accuratissimo pastore dignos fecerit. Non enim dubitamus, illum bonorum et reddituum illius ecclesiæ optimum dispensatorem, cultus vero divini celebrandi diligentissimum præsulem futurum esse, ita ut tota civitas et tam pauperes quam mediocres ac optimates merito de eo contenti esse debeant. Erit igitur offitium vestrum operam dare et efficere, ut ei vel procuratoribus suis possessio dictæ ecclesiæ et jurium suorum detur cum assignatione fructuum superioris temporis. Nam per tot annos Bononiæ stetit, ut merito civis appellari possit. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum sub annulo nostro secreto die nono decembris, 1444, pontificatus nostri anno xiv.

[*A tergo :*]

Dilectis filiis antianis et vexillifero iustitiæ populi et communis civitatis nostræ Bononiensis.

Copy in the Court Library, Vienna, Cod. 3121, f. 119b.

* MS. : Bononiensis præficem.

23. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count of Cacciaconti*) to Siena.*

1447, Jan. 19, Rome.

. . . Intorno alla canonizatione del beato Bernardino non s'e inovato altro perche la S^{ta} di N. S. non e stata in buona valetudine gia piu giorni sono; † ma hora per la gratia di dio e fuori d'ogni pericolo et in buona convalescentia. Sollicitaremo che in luogo del card di Capua‡ sia subrogato un altro cardinale senza l'quale questi due commissarii§ non vogliono fare nulla. La M^{ta} del Re e pure a Thigoli e non si puo per nisuno intendere quello intenda fare . . . et palesamente si dice la che S. M^{ta} intende essere in Toscana|| et dicono alcuni de suoi che

* See *supra*, p. 348. Magnificent ruins of the church of the Cistercian Abbey of San. Galgano at Siena still remain. At p. 166 of the Codex which we have cited, a *letter of Cardinal Jean Le Jeune (Card. Morinensis; see Ciaconius ii., 912-913), dated Rome 1450, Nov. 22, mentioned the death "rev. patris domini contis abbatis S. Galgani fratris Marchi di Cazacontibus." The Abbot signs himself "Conte di Cacciaconti" or "Cacciacontibus abbas S. Galgani, orator immeritus." According to Pecci (321), the Siense would have preferred Cacciaconti to Æneas Sylvius as Bishop of Siena.

† After Christmas in the year 1446, the health of Pope Eugenius IV. began to fail; his actual illness commenced on the 12th January, 1447. The Pope was perfectly aware of its hopeless character. See the report of the Papal Chamberlain Modestus in Muratori, iii., 2, 902-903; see 882.

‡ Niccolò Acciapaccio (tit. S. Marcelli), Cardinal of Capua, was banished by Eugenius IV. at the instigation of the King of Naples; he did not return to Rome until after the death of that Pope; and himself died there on the 3rd April, 1447. Regarding this distinguished Prince of the Church, see Ciaconius, ii., 902, and Osio, iii., 123, 202, 239 *et seq.*, 510, 511, 519.

§ Bishops Amicus, Agnifilus, Aquilanus, and Joannes de Palena Pennenis; see *Acta Sanctor. Maii*, iv., 719.

|| *Alexius de Cesari, Bishop of Chiusi, informed the Siense on the 3rd December, 1446, that the great warlike preparations of the

esso ha mandato per alcuna gente d'arme, ma come ho dicto nulla cosa di quello che habbia animo di fare si puo intendere dalla bocha sua et cosi dicano tutti questi signori che anno visitato la Sua M^{ta} se non che mostra assai nel parlare suo essere affecto a la S^{ta} di N.S. e a santa chiesa. Ex urbe xix. ian. 1446 [st. fl.].

Original in the Chigi Library, Rome. Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 144.

24. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count of Cacciaganti)
to Siena.**

1447, Jan. 23, Rome.

In the matter of the canonization of the Blessed Bernardine nothing can be done for the moment—"perche la S^{ta} di N.S. non da molto audientia perche è anco debile la S. B^{ne} et anco è occupata in cose che richieghono celere provisione per obviare ali scandali che potrebbono advenire non provendendovi. Li imbasciadori de Re de Romani e degli electori ed altri principi oltramontani sono qua come per altra rendi avisate le M.S.V. Espose la imbasciata in nome di tucti gli altri in concestoro segreto lo eloquentissimo huomo poeta misser Enea Picogliuomini ciptadino vestro; espose in tal modo et con tanto ornato la imbasciata in se odiosa et dispiacevole che da ongni S. e stato sommamente commendato lo ingengno e la prudentia sua et non dubito che in breve saranno in qualche parte reseghuita la cipta vestra. Etsi in somma adimandano quatro cose ciascuna piu exorbitante e odiosa alla S^{ta} di N.S. e generalmente a tucto collegio de cardenali e per la mala conditione del tempo sara necessario che nella maggior parte sieno exaliditi per schifare maggiori pericoli e scandali che advenerebbono se cosi non si facesse. Ex urbe 23. ian 1446" [st. fl.]

King were directed against Pisa. (State Archives, Siena. Con-
cistoro, Lettere ad an.)

* See *supra*, p. 348.

Original in the State Archives at Siena. Concistoro (Lettere ad an.).

25. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count of Cacciaconti) to Siena.**

1447, Febr. 11, Rome.

Da poi al ultime mie non e innovato altro se non che di bene in meglio ongni di la B^{ne} di N.S. megliora assai† per modo che iermatina tenne concistoro nel quale si fecero alcune promotioni et è quasi totalmente netto di febre, bene è vero che per lo male grande è anco debile, pure ongni di recupera el vigor meglio et presto si spera che sara in tucto ghuarito; che infinite volte sia rigratiata la potentia di misser domene dio che molti inconvenienti sarebbero seghuiti se dio non con renderli sanita non avesse riparata di quali si vedevano e principii. Ex urbe xi. febr. 1446 [st. fl.]

Original in the Chigi Library, Rome. Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 150.

26. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count de Cacciaconti) to Siena.‡*

[1447] Febr. 14, Rome.

Ill. et magn., etc. Ne di passati per Giorgio fameglio di V.S. ultimamente scripsi come la Santita di N.S. era in tal modo megliorata che da medici et da tucti si diceva essere fuore di pericolo; da poi per Orbano cavalaio ricevetti el

* See *supra*, p. 348.

† The improvement had begun at the end of January, as appears also from a *Letter of the Cardinal of Aquileja to Siena, dated Rome, 1447, January 28 (State Archives at Siena. Concistoro, Lettere ad an.) Regarding the previous illness the letter says "Significamus M. V., quod verum fuit S. suam aliquot superioribus diebus egrotasse et aliquanto gravius, quam ceteris temporibus consueverit."

‡ See *supra*, p. 348.

ultima vestra de viiii^d di questo et inteso che a le S.V. e carissimo el sentere di di in di e progressi delle cose di qua et max^e della valitudine di N.S., unde per satisfare a desiderii delle V.M^{tie} non senza molestia danimo aviso le prelibate S.V. come sabbato a sera nostro S. nelle prime hore della nocte li venne una grandissima dibileza la quale li duro infino a hore viiii. di nocte con grande affanno et con movimento di corpo. Dapoi glie ritornata la febre con fluxo per la qual cosa forte si dubita della vita sua la quale secondo e medici sara breve se altro miglioramento non seghue, il quale piu tosto procederebbe dalla gratia di dio che per virtu naturale intale modo e manchato el vigore della natura, perche pochi substantia prende et quella pochi non ritiene. Dubitasi assai in questa revolutione della luna. Dio dispongha, etc. . . . Ex urbe xiiii. febr., hora. xx.

Original in the Chigi Library, Rome. Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 142.

27. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count of Cacciaganti) to Siena.**

1447, Febr. 16, Rome.

He had written three days before: "Dapoi continuamente N.S. e peggiorato et per modo sta che si stima chomunalmente perogni persona che pocho tempo e hore puo stare in questa misera vita e tucte le preparationi si fano come se fusse morto. E questa sera si debbano congregare e cardinali e cosi sono tucti stati richiesti. Dio dispongha le menti delle loro signorie di provvedere la chiesa sua di buono pastore et che le cose passino senza novità o scandalo del quale forte si teme. La M^{ta} de Re di Ragona e pure a Tigholi e ongni di rinforza piu el campo. Et ieri vi gionse el signor di Fondi ricercato dalla Sua M^{ta} con fanti assai et cavalli et cosi ongni giorno si fortifica

* See *supra*, p. 348.

piu; non si sa quale sia l'animo suo; da grande sospitione a Romani e non minore a cortigiani; nientedimeno la Sua M^{te} a mandato a dir a piu cardinali che occorendo el caso della morte di N.S^{re} non intende impadronirsi a nulla ne impedire la liberta e l'ordine della creatione del nuovo pontifice ne anco fare favore piu a uno che a uno altro; bene conforta loro a fare l'electione di buono pastore;* nientedimeno questa stantia si si longha† e anco fare questi provvedimenti danno assai che pensare a la brigata.‡ . . . Sto certificato da uno de medici che sono stati al governo di N^{ro} S^{re} che e quasi impossibile ch'ella Sua S^{ta} ci sia domatina. . . . Ex urbe xvi. febr., hora xvii."

Original in the Chigi Library, Rome. Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 151.

28. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count of Cacciaconti) to Siena.* §

1447, Febr. 18, Rome.

Martedì passato gionse qua uno imbasciadore di Re di Francia e del Dalfino, il quale fu el dì med^{mo} con N.S. assai aggravato dal male|| . . .

La S^{ta} di N.S. stette ieri in caso di morte; da poi gli e alterata un pocho la febre e potria essare che per la buona diligentia che fa intorno a la persona sua¶ traunglara qualche dì, ma di scampo non ce niente di speranza. . . . Ex urbe xvii. hora, xviii. febr., 1446 [st. fl.].

* After the death of the Pope, Alfonso again sent reassuring messages to the Sacred College; see Muratori, iii., 2, 891, and Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid., iii., 135.

† According to Infessura (1130), Alfonso arrived at Tivoli on the 9th January, 1447.

‡ Here follows a passage regarding the concentration of troops in Rome; see Vol. ii., Chap. I.

§ See *supra*, p. 348.

|| For some account of this Embassy, see Chmel., ii., 422.

¶ Regarding the physicians who attended Eugenius IV., see Marini, Archiatri, etc.

Original in the Chigi Library, Rome. Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 154.

29. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count of Cacciaconti) to Siena.**

1447, Febr. 20, Rome.

. . . [S. Sta] cosi da poi continuamente e peggiorata per modo che questra sera ha ricevuto el ultimo sacramento† e per tucti si tiene che rendara o sta nocte o per tucto di domane a la piu longha lo spirito a misser domene dio la qual cosa debba essere molesta a ongni christiano. . . ‡ Ex urbe xx. febr., 1446 [st. fl.], hora v. noctis.

Original in the Chigi Library, Rome. Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 156.

30. *The Abbot of San. Galgano (Count of Cacciaconti) to Siena.§*

1447, Febr. 23, Rome.

. . . Aviso le S.V. come questa hora x^a|| die xxiii^a piaque al altissimo dio revocare ad se di questa misere e fallace vita la beata anima della felice memoria del sommo

* See *supra*, p. 348.

† The minister of the last Sacraments was Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, subsequently canonized.

‡ The other passages of this letter which are of any historical importance are given in Vol. ii., Chap. I.

§ See *supra*, p. 348.

|| There are various conflicting accounts as to the hour of the death of Eugenius IV. The *Acta consistorialia (Secret Archives of the Vatican; see *supra*, p. 392) say that the Pope departed this life "hora nona vel quasi." Modestus, the Chamberlain (Muratori, iii., 2, 904), however, asserts that Eugenius IV. died "interdecimam et undecimam horam." The statement of this well-informed witness coincides with that made by the Bishop of Forli, who was at the time in Rome. A *letter addressed by him to the Republic of Siena, and found by me in the State Archives of the City [Concistoro, Lettere ad an.], contains the following words, "Questa nocte infra le x. e xi. hore proxima

pontefice nostro papa Eugenio della cui morte ciascuno fedele christiano sommament si debba dolere et maxime quelli della cipta vestra. . . . Ex urbe xxiii. febr., hora xi^a

Original in the Chigi Library, Rome. Cod. E. vi., 187, p. 158b-159.

passato." This letter is dated Rome, 23 February, 1446 [st. fl.]. We must accordingly conclude that the death took place after the tenth hour, but certainly before the eleventh, at which time the Abbot of San. Galgano wrote the letter announcing the event. Infessura (1130) is undoubtedly in error when he says that Eugenius breathed his last "a ore otto di notte." The eleventh hour is mentioned in the Chronicle of Graziani (589), by S. Caffari (Arch. d. Soc. Rom., viii., 569), and in a *Letter of "Arsinius Monachus" to the Republic of Siena, dated Rome, 23 Febr., 1447. State Archives, Siena. Concistoro, Lettere ad an.

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